The Outlook

NOVEMBER 18, 1914

LYMAN ABBOTT, Editor-in-Chief HAMILTON W. MABIE, Associate Editor

R. D. TOWNSEND, Managing Editor

THE STORY OF THE WAR

BY ARTHUR BULLARD

THE OUTLOOK'S WAR CORRESPONDENT AT HOME

THE week—November 4 to 11—in marked contrast to the preceding fortnight, was full of dramatic incident: the fall of the German outpost in China, the destruction of the Emden, and the amazing speed of the Russian advances.

The battle in Flanders during the first days of the week seemed to be settling down to a deadlock similar to that along the rest of the battle line in France. Both armies seemed exhausted. But the despatches of the 9th and 10th indicated that after a short breathing space the conflict was beginning again with even more murderous desperation. The center of the German attack has shifted from near the coast inland to the vicinity of Ypres. The fact that both sides persist in attacking—in forcing the fighting—keeps open the possibility of sweeping changes. The Allies have not scored any decisive victory here and may be forced to give ground. If the Germans have to weaken their western lines to keep the Russians out of Silesia, they may be forced to retreat from the Yser and Lys—perhaps from the Aisne.

Activities were renewed in different places along the old front. A comparison of despatches from Paris and Berlin shows that the French claim to have the best of it. But the claims from both sides are modest.

EAST PRUSSIA

An unofficial Petrograd despatch of the 10th says that Russian soil is free from the invader. This appears to be an exaggeration, but is surprisingly near the truth.

The Russian Army of the North has succeeded in driving the Germans back into East Prussia. Even the daily announcements of victory from Berlin put the scene of fighting well inside the German frontier. There seem to be two distinct movements in progress. A Russian drive due west has dislodged the Germans from Wirballen, and in northern Poland the Czar's forces seem to be pushing across the frontier from the south towards Soldan.

General Rennenkampf's mission is to keep the German forces in East Prussia too busy to send reinforcements to the south or west. His army will probably be reduced to the minimum necessary for this task. And if help is needed by the Russian Army of Poland, his forces may be reduced below this minimum. The campaign here is secondary. Either side would accept reverses in the hope of greater gains elsewhere.

POLAND AND SILESIA

The news that the Russian army has driven the Germans back to the frontier and has in one place crossed into Silesia and wrecked the railway at Pleschen—only sixty-odd miles from Breslau—is almost incredible. However, it seems to be confirmed.

The invasion of Silesia will probably turn out to be a daring raid of a Cossack advance guard which has outrun the main force. If the bulk of the Russian army has reached the Warta, it means that they have advanced at a rate above ten miles a day. If so, it is an absolutely unparalleled achievement. Even if the Germans did not stop to fight on their long retreat, they must have wrecked the few railways and destroyed the bridges. The Russians have no such elaborate automobile equipment as the Germans. It is quite beyond belief that they should have brought up their army train and artillery at this speed.

It appears to be an achievement of cavalry. The rôle of mounted troops has steadily declined since the Crimean War. Cavalry

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has been reduced very largely to scouting work and to "screening" infantry movements. The aeroplane threatened to supplant the cavalry in scouting and to render the "screen" useless.

In the campaign in France and Belgium the utility of the horse has been small. General von Bernhardi's treatise on Cavalry seemed to have been made archaic. The Hussars and Cuirassiers were dismounted and sent into the trenches to fight with rifles instead of sword and lance.

But the Russians have always put great reliance on mounted troops. The Cossacks were a disappointment in Manchuria. But in this war they have justified themselves by their sweeping raid into Hungary, while in this Polish campaign they seem to have hung so closely to the retreating Germans that they had no time to reform. It is evident that mounted men could advance faster than infantry and artillery could retreat, and so it may be that the Cossacks have swung around to the north of the Germans, and, threatening their rear, forced them to continue their retreat back of the Warta, where, according to all reports, they had dug extensive defense lines.

If this guess at what happened proves true, it means that cavalry will have a place of greater honor in the armies of the future.

If the Russians have a secure foothold in Pleschen, the Germans will be forced well back into Silesia and a battle on German soil may be expected.

GALICIA

The Russian campaign against Austria is divided into two sections, like that against Germany. The main operations are in the neighborhood of Cracow; and a hundred miles away, at and south of Przemysl, secondary operations are in progress. Of the numbers involved here we have no reliable indication, but it is safe to guess that the Russians have a heavy preponderance.

There have been rumors from Petrograd that the Russians, having driven the Germans from Poland, would rest on their laurels here and concentrate all their energy on definitely crushing Austria-Hungary. This is, of course, a possibility, but from this distance it does not seem good strategy for Russia—and even worse from the point of view of her allies. Austria is Germany's weaker brother. If Germany falls, the Dual Monarchy will crumble. And the farther the Russian army penetrates into the rich provinces of Silesia and Posen, the more likely the Kaiser is to weaken his army in the west. And Russia, having freed her own soil, ought to postpone conquest and help her allies drive the enemy from France and Belgium. It will not be surprising if Russia once more drops the offensive in Galicia in order to concentrate overwhelming forces for the invasion of Germany.

If the Cossacks make a triumphal entry into Berlin, the Czar will be free to annex as much of Austria-Hungary as his allies will permit.

TURKEY AND THE BALKANS

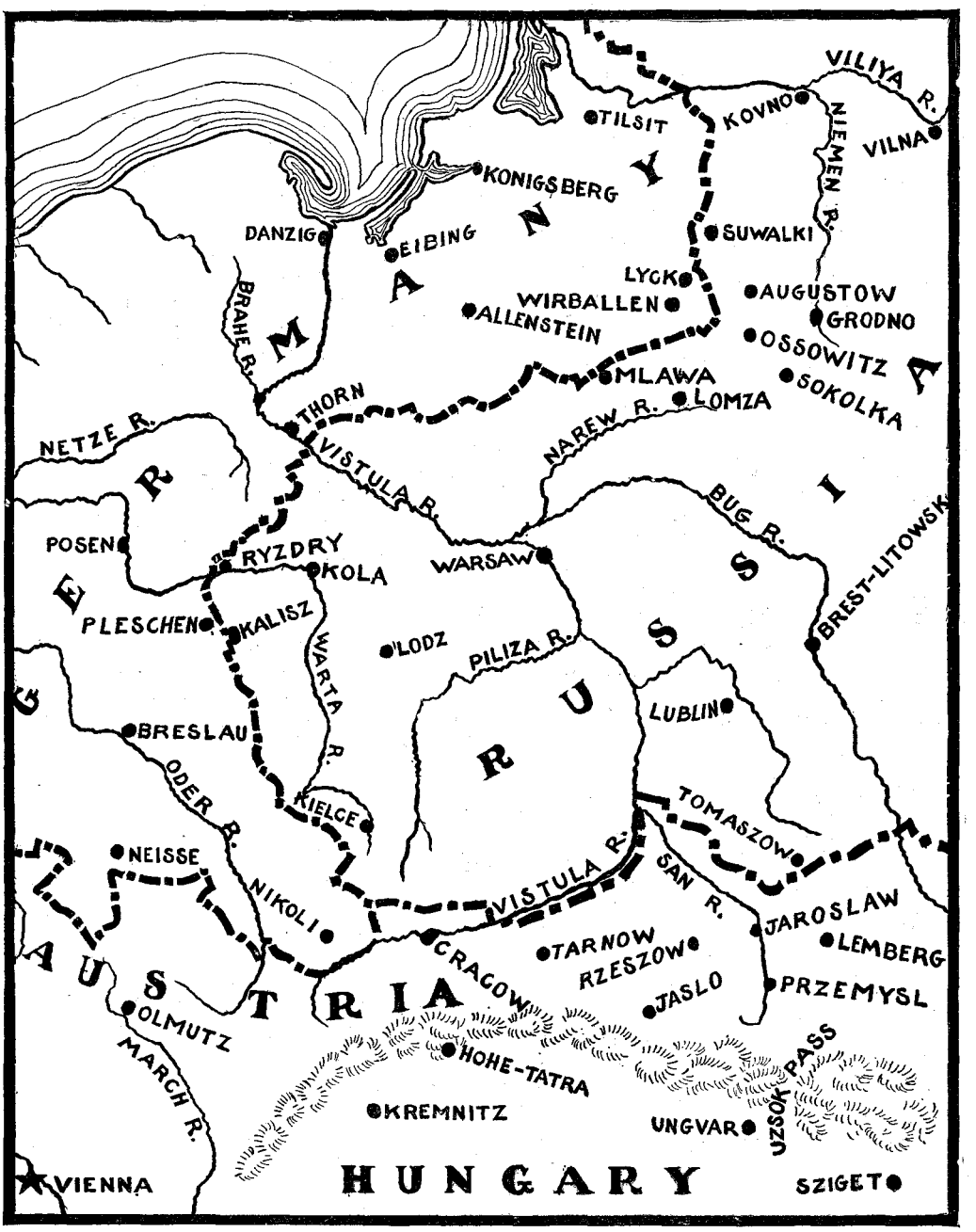
Turkey's entrance into the war has so far caused much less disturbance than was anticipated. During this week none of the neutral countries has followed the Sultan's example. Berlin reports that the Sheik-ul-Islam in Constantinople has proclaimed the Holy War, but so far no Mohammedan revolts have materialized. The Suez Canal has not yet been closed by a Turkish invasion of Egypt. Half a dozen Turkish and a couple of Russian ports have been bombarded. A squadron of English and French ships are shelling the forts at the entrance of the Dardanelles.

A Russian army—probably less than 100,000—has invaded Turkish Armenia and reports victory. But this campaign—so thoroughly have our nerves been dulled by the greater war—will interest us as little as the despatches from Nish.

AT SEA

The reports of the naval engagement of November 1 off the coast of Chile are still meager. But the accounts to date indicate that three English cruisers and a converted merchantman encountered a squadron of five German war-ships. The English admit that one of their cruisers was sunk and another has not been heard from. The remarkable thing is that the British Admiralty allowed a battle to take place under such adverse circumstances. They must have known just how many ships the Germans had in these waters, and that they would surely try to concentrate them. That three war-ships—the Otranto could hardly be expected to do more in a fight than show her heels—were allowed to cruise about where it was possible for them to fall in with such superior force is a fact which, to use an English phrase, will take a lot of explaining. The British have so many more ships than the Germans that

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



DRAWN FOR THE OUTLOOK BY RUDOLPH SCHOENE

THE RUSSIAN BORDER

Wirballen is the frontier station near Lyck on the main railway from Berlin to Petrograd. One wing of the Russian Northern Army is operating in this neighborhood. The other wing has driven the Germans north across the frontier from Mlawa.

An advance guard of the Russian Army of the Center has crossed the German frontier at Pleschen. The main body of this army is probably between Lodz and the Warta.

In the south the main Russian force is pushing up the Vistula toward Cracow. Fighting is also in progress between Tarnow and Jaroslav and at Przemysl.

for them to go into a fight outnumbered indicates that somebody blundered.

The destruction of the Emden by the Australian cruiser Sydney puts an end to one of the most exciting incidents of the war. The captain and some of the German officers escaped with their lives; their log should be as interesting reading as "Treasure Island."

Another commerce destroyer, the "pro-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tected cruiser" Koenigsberg, has been run to ground on the east coast of Africa. The German squadron off the coast of Chile and the Karlsruhe, last reported in Brazilian waters, are about the only German ships left on the high seas.

KIAOCHAU

The Japanese have brought their very businesslike siege of the German position in Kiaochau to its inevitable end. They could have found half a million men for the task. They could have increased their forces from India and Canada, if necessary, but they saw that they could do it with less than fifty thousand men and plenty of time.

The German resistance was even more futile than the Belgians' defense of their homeland. Some of the apologists for the destruction of Louvain have pointed to Luxemburg and have said that not even a shoe-button was stolen from these people, who, they say, had sense enough not to resist the inevitable.

It is a queer twist in the minds of many Germans to maintain rules which do not work both ways. There were probably fewer than five thousand trained soldiers in Kiaochau; perhaps civilian volunteers brought the number up to six thousand. The German navy in the Pacific was overwhelmingly outnumbered. There was no chance of bringing up reinforcements. When the Kaiser received the Japanese ultimatum, he should have seen that resistance was useless.

If the Commandant of this far-away colony had shown the common sense which the Germans praise in Luxemburgers, he would have made a solemn speech of protest and surrendered his sword. No lives would have been lost; no buildings—not even a church—destroyed. But he chose—in fact, rumor has it that it was the Kaiser's order—to follow the course of the impractical, deluded Belgians. He decided to maintain his "honor" by a resistance that was foredoomed to failure! This, according to eminent German professors, is not only foolish but unethical.

The analogy of course is forced. The Belgians were defending something which all the world, jurists and laymen, agree was theirs—their homes and their independence. The German garrison at Kiaochau was defending something which they had acquired by the same high-handed manner which they loudly call "immoral land-grabbing" when done by any one else.

The Japanese carried on the siege in a leisurely, scientific, and—as far as warfare may be—a humane manner. Some newspapers have compared it to the siege of Port Arthur. But it is a very tenuous comparison, at which the Japanese who fought through the bitter Manchuria campaign would be the first to smile. There they were fighting for their national existence. In this Chinese campaign they were smothering an aggressive commercial rival and avenging an old but bitter slight. There were few, if any, of the desperate "suicide parties" in their attack on these German forts. There was no reason for them. They might have overcome the resistance a few weeks earlier if they had cared to sacrifice ten thousand men. But they had no hurry. The loss of life on both sides puts it in the class of our "siege" of Santiago de Cuba rather than in that of Port Arthur. It stands in pleasant relief to the murderous fighting in Europe. It furnishes a new proof of the common-sense, efficient way in which the Japanese carry on war.

New York, November 11, 1914.

THE WEEK

THE EPIDEMIC AMONG CATTLE

The epidemic of the foot-and-mouth disease among cattle and swine—which is known to scientists as aphthous fever—has spread to such an extent that the Federal authorities have become genuinely alarmed. As The Outlook goes to press thirteen States have been quarantined against the inter-State shipment of cattle, and all shipments of cattle from Canada to the United States have been forbidden. The quarantined States are Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois, Maryland, Wisconsin, Iowa, Rhode Island, Delaware, New Jersey, and Michigan, where the plague started nearly two months ago. The quarantine against Canada is to prevent the return of infected cattle cars. As yet no traces of the disease have been found in the Dominion.

It is quite possible to "cure" the disease, but an animal that has once had it is practically

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

useless for all purposes, and it has been found wisest to kill all animals that exhibit symptoms, as the disease is very contagious and is dangerous to human beings as well as to the beasts of the field and barnyard. Through the danger zones Federal inspectors are making a farm-to-farm search, and usually when one infected animal is found the whole herd is destroyed. The Secretary of Agriculture has announced that the owners of slaughtered cattle will be reimbursed on the basis of the value of the herd as appraised by the State, the condemnation expenses to be divided equally between the Federal and State Governments.

In a statement to the newspapers recently Mr. Houston, the Secretary of Agriculture, is reported to have said:

"The present outbreak of the foot-and-mouth disease, which is one of the most contagious and destructive diseases of cattle, swine, and sheep, exceeds in area affected any of the five previous outbreaks in this country. Unless the infection can be immediately localized and quickly eradicated it threatens untold losses among live stock."

FERRERO ON THE WAR

An article on "The European Tragedy" in the current "Atlantic Monthly" is noteworthy because of its authorship, its clarity, and its convincing exposition. The writer, Guglielmo Ferrero, is both philosopher and historian; he belongs to a nation which is still at least nominally neutral; he talks of basic principles and avoids everything that remotely approaches quibbling, carping, or partisanship.

Signor Ferrero's article is brief, but too closely knit to make condensation desirable; it should be read in its entirety. We may here present the substance of a few passages:

What are the historical forces involved? "This war is the supreme duel of the two European enemies who for a century have lived side by side in every state; Europe bellicose, the daughter, as it were, of the French Revolution; and Europe pacific, creature of the philosophy of the eighteenth century and of the whole social movement of the nineteenth." Signor Ferrero points out that before the French Revolution and when armies were mercenaries there was no need to explain to the soldiers reasons or motives for war—"To fight was their trade." After the Revolution armies sprang directly from the people; they had to know reasons for the sacrifice they were making. At first this was easy. The French were told that they were fighting for liberty against the tyrants of Europe; the soldiers fighting France were told that the French were foes of order, religion, and authority. Later, the appeal to arms all over Europe made to the peoples was that of self-preservation—other nations were plotting against them; the enemy was marching to the frontier. "Thus the nineteenth century and the twentieth have both tried to persuade French, English, German, Italian, Russian, and the rest that they ought to distrust one another because they were all rivals and enemies." Here, the distinguished author points out, is the root-cause of the present war.

What has become of our faith in peace? Only a few weeks ago war on a large scale seemed incredible—a mediæval tradition, not a reality. "The Goddess of Peace seemed to have found a new and singular method of enchaining the god Mars: by loading him down so heavily with arms that he could no longer move." What has shattered our firm belief in peace? "The chief reason is the prestige and the power of the military caste in Germany; . . . a people that believes itself invincible through the power of its army will never, or in Europe, at least, can never, be profoundly pacifist. The military class will so rejoice in such prestige that it will never allow the desire for peace to increase beyond a certain point. . . . This is precisely what has happened in Germany."

How about the Socialists? As to this we will quote directly:

> It will suffice to recall what happened in connection with the great military law of 1912, which prepared the way for the war of 1914. The German Government had proposed to increase the army to eight hundred and seventy thousand men, and to get the money by imposing an extraordinary war tax on the rich classes. The parties of the Right in the Reichstag desired that the army should be increased, but not that the rich classes alone should be called upon to pay the cost. If the Socialists, who did not wish the increase of the army, had also voted against this special war tax, the Government would have found itself in grave perplexity, which might possibly have forced it, because of the financial difficulty, to moderate its requests. And perhaps then the war of 1914 would not have broken out. But the Socialists, although they disapproved the military law, were not able to resist the temptation to bleed the rich

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

through an increased income tax. The Government was able, therefore, to obtain the additional troops by a majority of the Right, and to obtain the money by a majority of the Left, in which there were more than a hundred Socialists, and within two years Europe burst into flames.

What is the responsibility of the Kaiser? Signor Ferrero quotes a paradox from a German uttered to him by a German: "My friend, there is only one pacifist in Germany; it is William II. But he can do nothing because he is the Emperor." The author believes, as do many others, that the Kaiser personally has been, and wished to continue to be, an Emperor of peace, but that he was "unable to resist the war party, which has increased in number, influence, and audacity during the past three years. . . . In fine, the European war was let loose by the German military party."

What will happen? "This war will even increase still more the military caste in Germany, or will largely destroy it. . . . Victorious Germany could impose herself on Europe only by a systematic oppression which would provoke the most terrible reaction and the gravest disasters." On the other hand, if Germany fails in her purpose, "Europe will finally find peace and concord in a reasonable equilibrium of forces and desires. Germany will become at last democratic and pacific. . . . There will be room under the sun for French, English, German—all races—to dwell together in unity."

THE DECLARATION OF LONDON

The newspapers reported last week that the British Government was going to denounce the Declaration of London. This was an error of a reporter, for, since England never ratified the Declaration of London, she has no need to, nor can she, denounce it.

What is that Declaration?

Each nation has been a law unto itself as to the sea; that is to say, one nation would arbitrarily declare certain commodities, like foodstuffs or clothing, to be contraband, and another nation would as stoutly deny this; one nation would hold one theory concerning blockade, and another nation would hold another theory, while the fate of the captured ships, called prizes, before a so-called prize court often called for redress. Prize law, in theory international, frequently proved itself only too national, as was shown by the Russian courts during the Russo-Japanese War. Nor was there any appeal possible from the decisions of the prize courts of a belligerent state.

Accordingly, along with its progress in other directions in guiding the nations from lawlessness to law, the Second Hague Peace Conference (1907) took up the matter and established in principle an international prize court. This promised to be the most substantial result of the Conference.

What law should it administer? International law. Suppose, however, there were no precepts of international law on a particular case—certainly there was no comprehensive body of regulations binding on all countries. Then it "should give judgment in accordance with the general principles of justice and equity."

This was, of course, too vague and uncertain to suit the maritime nations. So the following year England, France, Germany, Russia, Austria, Italy, Holland, Spain, the United States, and Japan named delegates to a Conference at London. It was to agree as to just what the law ought to be on which an international prize court's decisions should be based. Our delegates were Admiral Charles H. Stockton, of the United States navy, and Professor George Grafton Wilson, of Brown University. The result of the Conference was the Declaration of London, published in 1909. It consists of seventy-one articles.

CONTRABAND

From the standpoints both of popular discussion and of real importance, the most striking chapter of the Declaration has to do with contraband. The Conference adopted three classifications:

Absolute Contraband—that is to say, articles used exclusively for war:

Arms; projectiles and cartridges; powder and explosives; gun mountings; military clothing and harness; armor plates; war-ships.

Conditional Contraband—that is to say, articles susceptible of use in war as well as in peace:

Foodstuffs; forage and grain; clothing; boots and shoes; gold, silver, or paper money; vehicles and vessels; air-ships; fuel and lubricants; barbed wire; horseshoes; nautical instruments.

No Contraband—that is to say, articles thought to be not susceptible of use in war:

Raw cotton, wool, silk, jute, flax, hemp, and other raw materials of the textile industries;

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

seeds and nuts; rubber, resins, and gums; hops; hides; horn, bone, and ivory; fertilizers; metallic ores; earths, clays, lime, chalk, stone, marble, brick, slate, and tile; china and glass ware; paper; soap, paint, and colors; machinery; precious stones; watches and clocks; furniture.

The Declaration, agreed upon by the conferees, could not be proclaimed as law until ratified by the nations. Our Senate advised and consented to its ratification, but, as the ratifications were to be deposited in London, it was of course necessary that the British Government should ratify the instruments and fix the date for the deposit of ratifications by the other Powers. Quite aside from this, however, without ratification by the mistress of the seas, the Declaration would of course become an empty formula.

At first it was expected that Parliament would pass the bill requesting the Government to ratify. Sir Edward Grey, British Foreign Minister, urged that the Declaration would make England, as a combatant, fear nothing, and that as a neutral it would greatly benefit England because affording protection to neutral ships in supplying England with foodstuffs. Hence the House of Commons passed the bill.

But the House of Lords rejected it, on the ground that it might tie England's hands embarrassingly in just such a crisis as the present. Regarding food supply in particular, as the Lords said, British ships carry, and will carry, by far the greater part of England's supply, and its amplitude, Declaration or no Declaration, must depend upon the British navy's ability to keep the trade routes open.

England thus still maintains the opposite position to ours. The protection of our own immense and increasing commerce—indeed, the protection of neutral trade everywhere, on which we also economically depend—is of vital importance to us. We have to invoke all the protection possible to private property at sea in time of war. Therefore we would widen the scope of international maritime jurisprudence. Not so England.

THE KROONLAND

Last August the British naval authorities announced that they would follow the rules of the Declaration of London with certain exceptions. Article 65 of the Declaration, however, reads that its provisions "must be treated as a whole and cannot be separated." This means that a British proposal to ratify the Declaration with changes will be unacceptable to the Powers represented at the Naval Conference. The Declaration, as modified by England, is to be taken, nevertheless, as the statement of the law which she will observe during the present war.

For instance, she intends to treat these commodities as conditional contraband:

Copper; unwrought lead (pig, sheet, or pipe); glycerine; ferrochrome; hematite; iron ore and magnetic iron ore; rubber; hides and skins (raw or rough); leather, tanned but not dressed.

The reason for this is obvious. England wants to prevent Germany and Austria from getting through Scandinavian, Dutch, or Italian ports those supplies of war which Germany and Austria could not get through their own ports. This, of course, hits the neutral Powers. Our export of copper is interfered with, and Sweden's of iron ore. Holland's hard case is evident.

But England, as she was not a signatory to the Declaration of London, asserts that her legal right to take the course she has adopted cannot be disputed.

The principal case so far is that of the American steamer Kroonland. The British authorities at Gibraltar detained the ship on the ground that her cargo, largely of copper, consigned to Naples, was really destined for points in Germany.

The copper and rubber on the Kroonland were taken off by the British authorities and a prize court is to determine whether the goods are to be confiscated. Our Government may have a representative at the court. But the burden of defending the goods taken from the Kroonland will lie upon the ship-owners and the owners of the goods.

If the court declares the goods prizes of war and orders them confiscated as contraband destined for the enemy, the owners, it is expected, will appeal to our State Department. This seems likely to be the first test of the policy of making the actual ultimate destination of contraband of war the determining factor as to whether it shall be seized or not. Whatever the outcome may be, the Declaration of London has added much to the protection of the rights of neutrals and non-combatants.

AMERICAN HOSPITAL WORK IN FRANCE

The American Ambulance Hospital in Paris, the principal noteworthy features of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which were described in The Outlook of November 4, seems destined to set several fine precedents in connection with the part the United States is assuming in the European war. This hospital, which is conducted entirely by Americans, and is caring for wounded soldiers, irrespective of nationality, has already made a record for efficiency which is testified to by the leading European professional and military authorities. Its work is now to be largely extended in such a way as to relieve most promptly the suffering of the wounded, and it is a highly significant fact that this has been made possible by the generosity of an American woman.

Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney has undertaken to provide all the funds necessary to establish and maintain field hospitals near the battle front for which the American Ambulance in Paris will serve as a base. These field hospitals will have the same high standard of efficiency as has the base hospital. Dr. Walton Martin, attending surgeon at St. Luke's Hospital, New York City, has left for Paris to organize and take charge of the first unit, and other leading surgeons of New York will go later as volunteers in this special service. With Dr. Martin went five assistant surgeons, a pathologist, and ten nurses. They took with them a large amount of supplies. Other supplies, including one thousand blankets, had been sent to Paris by Mrs. Whitney's order a few days before. Ten automobiles intended for ambulance service had also been sent, and drivers for them have gone from this country to serve without pay. Many of these young men responded to notices posted in the Harvard, Yale, and Princeton Clubs, and not a few will pay their own expenses.

Mrs. Whitney, who was Miss Gertrude Vanderbilt, has herself gone to Paris to remain there indefinitely, familiarizing herself with the needs of this unusual work of mercy. It is, perhaps, the first time that any woman has undertaken in time of war to provide, single-handed, means of relief for suffering upon such a large scale.

There has been the most urgent need for the work which Mrs. Whitney's field hospitals will do. Those in charge of the American Ambulance in Paris were quick to realize that untold suffering could be alleviated and many lives saved if the wounded were cared for more promptly. The suffering of wounded men lying in trenches on the open field or in temporary trenches, the delay due to demoralized and inadequate railway service in transporting them to hospitals in Paris or other centers, and the infection, gangrene, and tetanus due to delay, all make the need of field hospitals obvious.

All the money for the American Ambulance comes from the voluntary subscriptions of Americans. Enough has not yet been received to maintain the hospital at its greatest capacity, one thousand beds, every one of which could be filled; so the extension work in the field could not be undertaken. When Mrs. Whitney heard of this, she assumed the financial burden of the field hospital service. It will mean the expenditure of a very large sum. The base hospital, however, will be taxed more than ever and will need money all the more urgently. Mrs. Whitney's generosity has merely extended its usefulness, and her private contribution cannot be applied to the support of the hospital in Paris. She has made it possible for other Americans to do a work which is attracting the grateful attention of Europe, and which, in the opinion of our Ambassador, Mr. Herrick, Mr. Robert Bacon, and others well qualified to speak on the subject, is of the greatest international importance. The fund for the American Ambulance now exceeds $250,000, but it is estimated that $500,000 is necessary, and J. P. Morgan & Co., 23 Wall Street, New York, have undertaken to forward by cable whatever contributions are sent to them.

LATER
ELECTION RETURNS

Fuller returns from the election of November 3 show little need for modifying the conclusions reached by The Outlook in its issue of last week.

Among the details of the returns which require a final statement, and, in some instances, slight revision, may be included the fact that the Democratic party still retains its control of the lower house, but by an uncomfortably narrow margin. In Illinois Roger Sullivan was defeated by his Republican opponent for the Senatorship. There is but little comfort, however, for the progressively minded in this upset of the earlier returns.

The anti-liquor people found more comfort in the final returns than in the first reports as given in last week's Outlook. Out of the six States voting upon the question of prohibition, Arizona, Colorado, Oregon, and Washington all decided for the abolition of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the saloon. California and Ohio remain in the "wet" column. In California the question was precipitated by the radicals in the Prohibition party. Those with greater experience in such campaigns doubted the expediency of bringing the matter to a vote at this time—a doubt which the election returns fully justified. The form in which this constitutional amendment was presented to the voters of California likewise helped to discourage support of the independent vote. It will be remembered, too, that California is one of the great wine-growing States. Fear of jeopardizing the commercial success of the approaching World's Fair must also have contributed heavily to the result. In Ohio the liquor men themselves brought the question before the public by an attempt to secure a constitutional amendment antagonistic to any future attempt to secure State-wide prohibition. As an offset to this the anti-saloon leaders replied with a constitutional amendment designed to abolish the selling of liquor within the State. They had only ninety days in which to develop their campaign. Reports from Ohio show that they have by no means been discouraged by their defeat. With Virginia, which went dry in September, the anti-saloon voters have won five out of a possible seven States in which the question of State-wide prohibition has been submitted within the last few months. It is to be hoped that they will fully realize that their fight for the abolition of the liquor traffic in these States has really only begun.

Less fortunate than the advocates of State-wide prohibition were the woman suffragists. In Ohio, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, and South Dakota they were defeated. Montana and Nevada, however, have given them a gain of seven electoral votes. In Nebraska a recount has been ordered.

THE SOCIALIST CONGRESSMAN

Perhaps the most interesting result from any Congressional district is found in the election of a Socialist in a Tammany stronghold. The Twelfth Congressional District of New York revolted so acutely that it has elected Meyer London, who will be the only one of his party in the next Congress, since Victor Berger, the former Socialist Congressman from Milwaukee, was defeated for re-election this year.

Mr. London's constituents were no sooner certain of victory than they set about celebrating it. Madison Square Garden, the largest hall in the city, so big that no candidate dared hire it during this campaign, knowing he could not fill it, seemed to them the only fit place. With but three days' preparation, a monster mass-meeting there was successfully staged and carried through.

It is unusual to charge admittance to a political meeting. Not so with the Socialists. Twelve thousand people crowded the hall, paid once to get in, and again put money into the collection basket before they came out.

Only once was there evidence of other emotion than gladness; that was when Abraham Cahan, editor of the "Jewish Daily Forward," said: "We who have suffered at Kisheneff, who have known *pogroms* and persecution at Odessa and Kiev, we are the people who have given to Tammany Hall its first great defeat. We have done to Czar Murphy what we would like to do to Czar Nicholas." At the name of Nicholas a low, deep, threatening growl ran from tier to tier.

Ninety per cent of the auditors were Jews, and boastful of it. They seemed to say: "We, the chosen ones, have done this thing. It is but the beginning. Watch us and see."

Is this election a sporadic, an exceptional case, merely a rebellion against machine politics and a victory for pure government, or is it the first of a long succession which shall make of the Jewish Ghetto of New York, perhaps of every great city, a stronghold for Socialism? Undoubtedly that is what many of those hoarse with cheering felt.

Mr. London himself spoke differently. He has a lean, bespectacled profile, as can be imagined from a glance at his portrait in the illustrated section, and a manner chiefly remarkable for poise. He warned his hearers against exaggerating the importance of his election. To him, "the most significant thing that has happened in America in recent years is that in 1912, when there were three big parties in the field with three popular leaders, the Socialists polled 1,000,000 votes in the Presidential race."

THE NEW YORK "TIMES" IN STRANGE COMPANY

One of the most illuminating, not to say amusing, features of the election is contained in an editorial which recently appeared in the New York "Times." In commenting upon the repeal of the Full Crew Bill in Missouri by a popular referendum, the "Times" enunciates a doctrine which must have made

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

some, if not all, of its readers blink with surprise. One of the most conservative of Eastern papers, and one of the most ready to shout "Wolf!" at the suspected approach of any movement towards an increased reliance upon popular government, the "Times" now unblushingly remarks: "The Missouri railways are fortunate in that the State has a referendum law." Furthermore, in another editorial the "Times" remarks: "The Nation is not so fortunate as Missouri, not being able to relieve itself of obnoxious legislation by the vote of the people."

Possibly, when in last week's issue The Outlook said, "The result of this election has been a triumph of the reactionary element," it spoke too soon. It may be stated in our defense that we had not then seen these editorials from the New York "Times."

On the other hand, the conversion of the "Times" may, we suspect, prove to be of the "rice-Christian" variety. Will it be as faithful to the principle of the popular referendum if the results, at some future time, are less gratifying to its own convictions?

THE NEW ITALIAN MINISTRY

Last week the personnel of the new Italian Cabinet was announced. Signor Salandra continues as Prime Minister and retains the important portfolio of Minister of the Interior.

The members of the preceding Salandra Cabinet who hold the same portfolios in the Ministry are the Ministers of Marine, Finance, Agriculture, Public Works, Public Instruction, Posts and Telegraphs, and the Colonies.

A new Italian Cabinet does not necessarily mean any change of Italian policy. But as this new Cabinet represents more broadly the various elements of the country, the Government's policy will probably be a more truly national expression of Italy's interests. And those interests are daily increasing in importance and significance, not only to Italy but to the world.

Of the four new Ministers in the Cabinet, by far the most important is the Minister for Foreign Affairs. The lamented death of the Marquis di San Giuliano, the previous incumbent, made that inevitable.

The new incumbent is Baron Sidney Sonnino. He was Prime Minister in 1906, and also in 1910. But also in 1898 he was called the real Premier; for, despite his rather conservative views, he was sufficiently a Liberal to inspire the policies of the Pelloux Cabinet. He has also served as Minister of Finance in various Cabinets.

BARON SIDNEY SONNINO

Signor Sonnino is also a journalist. In 1878 he founded the "Rassegna," which became a notable conservative organ. Since then he has been connected with the "Giornale d'Italia," one of the most influential papers among the educated classes.

The Italian Government's foreign policy will now be determined by a man of cosmopolitan character. Signor Sonnino's mother was an Englishwoman, and he received his education at Oxford. His temperament thus seems a bit austere in comparison with that of most Italians. They sometimes call him unmagnetic; and his speeches often lack a Southern warmth. On the other hand, they gain in balance and strength. He is emphatically a scholar and a cultivated man of the world.

Baron Sonnino has always been particularly interested in the condition of the peasant classes. His book "The Peasants in Sicily" was a timely inquiry into agrarian conditions. One of his aims has been to revive southern Italy economically and morally. His early programme even went so far as to propose a reduction of one-third of the land taxes of the small proprietors, on the ground that the reduced income to the Exchequer would be much more than made up by the more prosperous condition of the classes involved. He also proposed to construct local railways, to put isolated regions in touch with the great markets, to strengthen the agrarian banks, and, above all, to assist small towns in fighting illiteracy.

While Signor Sonnino's experiences of diplomatic life have not been inconsiderable, it remains to be seen whether, as Foreign Minister, he will be as successful as he has been in the departments of finance and economics. The general feeling, however, among Baron Sonnino's friends throughout the world is that he will prove to be a great Foreign Minister.

ENGLISH "MILITANTS" AND "SEMI-MILITANTS"

When in doubt, play America, is a good motto for all Europeans just now; and two foremost suffragettes, albeit in opposing camps, have come to the United States to teach us the whole duty of man and woman in this crisis.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, the militant leader

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who drew the line at arson and left the Pankhursts when they wearied of milk-and-water tactics like stone-throwing and Parliament-baiting, is over here to lecture on "A Permanent Basis for Peace." Before she started the news of her leaving was heralded in England, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Pankhurst's younger daughter, caught an earlier boat and delivered her first lecture here two days before the slower woman arrived.

Miss Pankhurst believes that neutrality is our mistake. To quote her as she spoke at Carnegie Hall on October 23 in New York City, "I do not envy the United States or any other country that is neutral, because it is harder to stand aside when the freedom of the world is at stake than to enter into the fight."

Mrs. Lawrence is more adroit. She comes not to preach on America's duty but to plead for woman's suffrage. Six times in jail, a hunger striker and forcibly fed, she speaks as one with intelligence and vision. "I want the people of the United States to realize that the only effective weapon against militarism in the world to-day is—well, I do not like to call it 'Feminism.' I dislike the word. I will call it the Women's Movement. It is only by the extension of democracy to its furthermost limits that the people of any country can control its rulers."

Mrs. Lawrence believes that Alsace and Lorraine, and perhaps Schleswig-Holstein, are the price Germany will have to pay at the end of the war, but she demands that no territory shall be given or taken without the consent of *all* its inhabitants, and that the United States, as the only great neutral democracy, shall see to it that this is so. Only thus will there be any basis for a permanent peace. Please notice that "all." Mrs. Lawrence, as a suffragist, wants it plainly understood that any plebiscite of the citizens of any country must include its women as well as men. She says simply: "All over fighting Europe women are suffering as heroically as men. They are making like sacrifices and are worthy of like consideration."

A NEW SHAW PLAY

Bernard Shaw's "Pygmalion" is giving entertainment to New York play-goers, as it had previously to those of London. It has less of constructive completeness and dramatic force than his older comedy, "Fanny's First Play," and it certainly has less social purpose than "Man and Superman." For once Mr. Shaw seems inclined to subordinate everything else to the desire of being amusing. And amusing he certainly is! The satire is light, but the situation and the incidents are original and laugh-provoking, and the talk of the characters is witty in an artful but apparently spontaneous way. Admirable presentation is made by Mrs. Patrick Campbell of a London flower-girl with an atrocious East End accent. As a sort of modern Galatea to an exceedingly modern but unconventional Pygmalion, Eliza is trained (on a bet) to acquire the tone and manner of a duchess. The result, as evidenced on her first appearance in society, when her accent is elegant, her utterance dignified but amusingly careful, and the substance of her talk still of the slums slummy, is excruciatingly funny. So also is her nervous and mannerless teacher, Professor Higgins, specialist in phonetics and dialect, and her father, the dustman, well satisfied in his condition as one of the "undeserving poor" and much cast down when circumstances compel him to adopt the "middle-class morality" he despises.

If one seeks an instructive purpose in what is chiefly humorous, it is to be found in Mr. Shaw's own contempt for just that "middle-class morality" and, in general, for social insincerity and humbug. If we understand his philosophy aright (and, frankly, we enjoy his delicious paradox and startling literary impertinence so much that perhaps we care less than we should for his social theory), it is that it is folly to talk of reconstituting society until we have made a clean sweep of wrong conditions—and that means, in his dogmatism, pretty much everything. If he can help toward this destructive end by shocking people's sensibilities, so much the better; and he is perfectly willing—yes, even anxious—to be attacked if he can only make his readers and his play-goers "sit up and take notice."

Altogether "Pygmalion" may be heartily commended to theater-goers from almost every point of view; it has point; it is clean-minded; and it is immensely amusing.

THE KNEISEL QUARTETTE

Even the placid confines of chamber music are not free from the rapacity of war. The Kneisel Quartette, the most renowned chamber music organization in America, and one

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the few great string quartettes of the world, appeared last week in its first concert of the season without its second violin, Hans Letz, who has been, as it was announced, "detained in Germany for military duty." While Mr. Letz has been handling the rifle in place of the bow and facing hostile forces instead of a friendly audience, his place has been acceptably filled by a young American, a pupil of Mr. Kneisel's, Samuel Gardner. Indeed, in every respect—in beauty of tone, in the marvelous accuracy and finish of performance, in the unity of the Quartette, enhanced rather than modified by the individual skill and musical personality of the separate players—the Kneisel Quartette seems to remain unchanged; it is the same perfect, almost too perfect, instrument. The maintenance of its own character and quality through the years is an achievement which can be explained only by the leadership of Mr. Kneisel.

It is fortunate for America that in chamber music it has before it such a standard as has been set through the years by Mr. Kneisel and his colleagues. We are an adaptable and, in some respects, versatile people. In art our danger is that which besets all who are versatile and adaptable—the danger of superficiality. In one sense Americans are musical in that music flourishes in this country. It is in America that the most sumptuous and perhaps the most effective performances of opera are to be heard. It is in America that the people spend probably the most money for music. It is from America that the world has derived a very distinct and not altogether unworthy form of music—ragtime. It is America, strange to say, that has supplied to the soldiers of the Allies their most popular war song—"Tipperary." But beside the people of Germany and France Americans are musically superficial. Artistic thoroughness is what we need, as we need thoroughness of other kinds. In chamber music we have before us constantly an unsurpassed example of thoroughness in artistic ideals and in performance—the Kneisel Quartette. This organization is a possession to cherish.

In its first concert the "Kneisels" presented a string quartette which had not been heard in public in America until the Kneisels played it this year—Zoltan Kodály's Quartette in C Minor, Opus 2. Kodály is a young Hungarian who has made a study of Hungarian folk songs, and has tried to excavate them from beneath the layers of gypsy music which have buried the true Hungarian from the acquaintance of the ordinary hearer. He has gone out with phonographs and has gathered and recorded the folk songs as some investigators have made phonographic records of the music of our American Indians. The cynically minded, with a conservative ear for concord of sweet sounds, would be inclined to say that, if Kodály's Quartette is a fair sample of what he found, his phonograph must have been a poor one. The hearer who wishes to be considered progressively minded, however, is very chary about expressing his preferences for pleasant harmonies, for he appears as if he had not been initiated into the mysteries of modern music unless he accepts with complacency every kind of dissonance that a modern composer wishes to perpetrate, whether it has significance or not. It was amusing to feel the relief of the audience when, in the last movement of this Quartette, Kodály actually allowed the players to give forth chords that were relatively familiar.

The main difficulty with this composition, however, did not lie so much in its harmonic characteristics as in its structure. One has a feeling after hearing typical composers of modern Germany and Austria-Hungary that all the organizing ability of these countries has been diverted to the building up of their military machine, with nothing left at least for their works of musical art. Kodály's work unquestionably is technically constructed according to a plan, and a plan laid out on traditional models, but it gives the impression throughout of being inconsequential. It seems to follow the formula of many young composers—have a spasm, take a breath, have another spasm.

A PICTURESQUE BAZAAR

How can we raise money for the Red Cross? That question comes up all over the country, and the answer does not seem easy. People never wanted to give more than they do just now, and many never found it more difficult.

The managers of the Red Cross Bazaar held in New York City during the last ten days in October attacked the problem in many original ways, and some of them may be interesting to others who have still to grapple with it.

The Bazaar, which took place in the Grand Central Palace of flamboyant name, was planned on the lines of a vast "rummage

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sale," where everthing was donated out of the surplus stores of those who could give, not money, but merchandise. Second-hand goods of real value came from private sources, while the city's shopkeepers were persuaded to part with hundreds of small articles easy to retail. The name of the donor was always plainly displayed, so that many merchants fell into a generous fervor to rid themselves of overstock in return for advertising by a worthy cause.

At the top of the stairs leading up to the immense hall stood the "Melting Pot," a huge receptacle yawning for all manner of broken silver and gold, outworn jewelry, old spoons, anything that could be melted down and sold to swell the fund. All sorts of pathetic gifts came together here—sometimes a wedding ring, a lover's locket, bits of family silver, an old hair brooch with heavy gold setting. One elderly man of chastened demeanor and an expression of recent sobriety solemnly dropped in a curious old silver-mounted flask. "Good-by," he sighed, as he saw it lying there, jostled by heirlooms and love-tokens. "Both you and I were made for better things than rum, old friend. Perhaps we'll reform now that the Red Cross has taken hold of us."

One table was given over to home-made jellies, pickles, and canned vegetables. Many overstocked pantry shelves must have paid tribute here, and many a canny housekeeper jumped at the occasion to replenish a lean cupboard with "real home-mades" at no greater cost than "store goods." Even cakes and cookies were given and sold, all in the name of sweet charity, but without the extra tariff that charity usually levies. The old "church fair" tactics of charging double were abandoned, and it almost seemed as though the managers of the Bazaar were lending a helping hand in the struggle with the high cost of living.

CHARITY THAT WORKS BOTH WAYS

Over in the "Cotton Corner" a whole flock of birds were brought down with a single stone. All the "movements" sprung full-grown into publicity since the outbreak of the war seemed to flourish here. The "Buy-a-bale-of-cotton" crusade was auspiciously launched by dividing President Wilson's own bale into hundreds of smaller ones to be sold for ten cents apiece, while the "Made-in-America" slogan was echoed in the many charming frocks fashioned from cotton material quite as attractive as silks or satins. Manufacturers of cotton goods sent samples of infinite variety, and hundreds of women went away with materials for new dresses comfortably convinced that every purchase proved them not only economical but charitable and patriotic.

The exhibit which aroused the greatest interest was that of the Vacation War Relief Committee, of which Miss Anne Morgan is President. This committee could be duplicated in every town in the United States. Simple and practical, its aims are to give temporary employment at a minimum wage to women thrown out of work by war conditions, to supply bandages, clothing, and dressings to the Red Cross, and to establish a permanent employment agency for women in New York. At the Bazaar six or seven from the Committee's workroom were sewing steadily on garments for sick soldiers. Onlookers were appealed to to send old tablecloths, linen sheets, furniture covers—anything that could be spared—to be made into dressings or clothes for the wounded. The more materials, the more women out of work whom the Committee could hire to make them up. It is a fine idea which seeks to prevent unemployment over here as well as provide relief for misery abroad.

Some of the strangest donations came in the shape of live stock; not horses and cows, but chickens, doves, rabbits, and a dog or two—all pets of the pampered variety, who, their masters or mistresses perhaps felt, could be put to earning the money they were unable to give. They sold rapidly—all but one belligerent old rooster, which finally went to a young housekeeper who stoutly declared that she was taking him home to make Red Cross hash of him.

Perhaps the most practicable booth was the one called the "Clearing-House for Books." Every one has books which, once read, are not worth giving valuable shelf room, and these were cheerfully donated to be resold for ten and twenty-five cents apiece. Hundreds of books were thus collected, and in this instance the buyer was as well pleased as the giver. There's nothing like a bargain to warm the cockles of the charitable heart.

THE LORD MAYOR'S SHOW AND THE WAR

What is called the Lord Mayor's Show is a kind of mediæval pageant in London to which

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

often only the idle and the curious pay any attention; but this year it was made the occasion for a great outburst of devotion to the British Empire. The new Lord Mayor, Sir Charles Johnston, in his great gilded coach drawn by six horses, made no sensation; but when the band played the tune which is now a kind of battle-cry for the Empire, "It's a Long Way to Tipperary," and the troops from Canada, Australia, and New Zealand came marching by, a roar of applause such as London has not heard for many a day greeted them.

The speeches at the dinner in Guildhall were notable for dignity, restraint, and loyalty. Nothing, perhaps, has so stirred Englishmen and given them such a sense of safety as the response of all the countries under the British rule. To-day the Empire is not a legal fiction; it is a tremendous and coherent force behind England.

Lord Kitchener spoke with quiet determination and with unusual frankness of "the glorious French army of General Joffre," whom he described not only as a "great military leader but a great man;" of the "brilliant leadership of the Grand Duke Nicholas;" of the "splendid achievement of the gallant Belgian army;" and the "gallantry of the Japanese forces." "The British Empire," he said, "is fighting for its existence; that is the cardinal fact. We have wonderful advantages in our resources of men and material, and in that wonderful spirit of our army which has never understood the meaning of defeat. There are in training in Great Britain more than 1,250,000 men." Mr. Balfour recalled a page of history which the Japanese know by heart when he said that Japan had made one of the most dramatic answers, by the capture of Tsingtao, to the most insolent message ever sent by one sovereign to another—the message which, seventeen years ago, ordered Japan to give up Port Arthur, after she had taken it from the Chinese.

The French Ambassador declared that the Allies are standing "for the defense of liberty, of empire, and for the protection of oppressed nationalities." The Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, gave a brief résumé of European conditions during the seven years he had been in power; spoke of the financial situation, which he declared was entirely satisfactory to the Government; and then in a few words defined the aims of Great Britain in the great struggle:

> This is going to be a long war, but there is nothing in a long struggle to depress us, or in what has happened. Our enemy has tried three objectives—Paris, Warsaw, and Calais—and has been baffled in all. That is not enough. We shall not sheath the sword, which we have not lightly drawn, until Belgium has recovered more than she has sacrificed; until France is adequately secured against menace; until the rights of the smaller nationalities have been placed upon an unassailable foundation, and until the military domination of Prussia is finally destroyed.

A NEW JOURNAL OF IDEAS

The "New Republic," to be published weekly in New York, and to be devoted to "critical comment on National affairs," promises to be a reinforcement of the higher ideals of journalism; and the first number, attractively printed, will appeal to thoughtful Americans. The "New Republic" will recall to many readers that brief but very interesting adventure in journalism, the "Round Table." It will also recall the earlier years of the "Nation," with this fundamental difference, that while the "Nation" has always been primarily critical, the "New Republic," although critical, will be inspired by the constructive spirit; it promises to be outspoken and progressive, but not in any sense devoted to radical propaganda.

At a time when the institutional life of the world is challenged, and men and women are compelled to re-examine the foundations on which their convictions rest, a paper of the spirit and purpose of the "New Republic" may serve an eminently useful purpose in clarifying the thought of busy people who have limited time and access to knowledge. Behind even the most aggressive agitation there must be ideas which need constant definition if the agitation is not to degenerate into a mere partisan sortie for the establishment of some kind of fad.

The editors declare that the new paper "is an attempt to find a National audience for a journal of interpretation and opinion." It comments briefly on the results of the recent elections and other current events; it discusses the larger issues of the late election under the title "A Narrow Escape for the Democrats," and affirms that Democratic legislation so far has not made any impression "on the more serious and difficult social and industrial problems," pointing out that the cost of living has not been touched; that business organization is still wasteful and inefficient and the financial system of the Federal Government

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

extravagant and irresponsible; that nothing has been done to diminish unemployment or improve the general standard of living, or to remove the cause of increasing unrest among wage-earners. There is a frank discussion of the labor union question, and there are general articles on literary and art subjects which are refreshing in their freedom both of criticism and from cant, either Socialistic or radical. The "New Republic" is not a journal of information, but, as its sub-title states, is a "journal of opinion." All that appears in the first number, whether signed or not, is editorial in character. Such a journal deserves a fair hearing; and, if it fulfills its promises, a generous support. The names of Mr. Herbert Croly and Dr. Walter E. Weyl are in the list of six editors, guaranteeing independence of thought and the progressive spirit.

AMERICA'S CHRISTMAS GIFT TO EUROPE

America has sent her grain to fill the hungry mouths of Europe, she has sent ammunition from her factories to fill the greedy rifle and cannon, and she has sent her most skillful surgeons and nurses to repair what they can of the damage cannon and rifle have wrought. Now she sends a ship laden with Christmas presents for the women and children made destitute by the war. It is a pretty act, and whoever first thought of it had the spirit of a poet with the hard common sense that poets often lack, for the presents that the ship carries are essentially articles of use rather than objects of sentiment, being for the most part warm clothing.

The sponsors and organizers of this expedition of mercy are one hundred and ninety newspapers from New York to San Francisco. The United States Government so much approved of the scheme that it offered the use of the steel collier Jason, in command of Lieutenant-Commander C. E. Courtney, of the United States navy. The newspapers backing the project established nearly eighty receiving stations and invited the public to give what they could. Only useful articles were wanted, and no money was accepted.

The people of the United States grasped the idea enthusiastically, and rich and poor alike gave so generously that soon the Jason's hold was crammed and many presents had to be returned. The majority of the gifts were articles of clothing, sweaters, overcoats, stockings, etc., but the men in charge at the receiving stations accepted a doll here and a toy engine there to gladden the heart of some small Gretchen, Louis, Marie, or Ivan. If there are not peace and good will in Europe this Christmas time, many small Europeans will be reminded that all the world is not yet a shambles, and that peace and good will still exist in the big, far-off country beyond the Atlantic.

The Jason will discharge presents for the English and Belgians at Falmouth, England; for the French at Marseilles or Bordeaux; for the Germans, Austrians, and Hungarians at Genoa; for the Serbs and Montenegrins at Salonica; while Uncle Sam's offerings to the children of Russia are going to Archangel direct from New York in a steamer of the Russian-American Line.

It is interesting to know that churches, Sunday-schools, and old army veterans, particularly old Confederate soldiers, have been especially lavish in contributing to the cargo of this ship of mercy. There is something of the pathetic in this generosity of the old followers of Jefferson Davis, for certainly they in their time had opportunity to know the poverty, suffering, and ruin of an invaded country.

The loading of the Jason has been done by United States soldiers and bluejackets under the supervision of Major F. H. Lawton, U. S. A., and the women of the army post at Governor's Island, New York, headed by Mrs. Leonard Wood, wife of General Leonard Wood, U. S. A.

A SAFE AND SANE CHRISTMAS

Fifteen years ago nearly every retail store in the country remained open until late at night from one to three weeks before Christmas. This meant that hundreds of salespeople, bookkeepers, wrappers, and delivery men worked such long hours that Christmas meant to them, not joy and good will, but exhaustion and suffering. The responsibility for this condition of affairs lay with a thoughtless shopping public, which believed that it must do its Christmas shopping in crowds and in a rush at the eleventh hour.

Lately there has been a revulsion against this annual exhibition of selfish stupidity, and as a result of the agitation that has ensued for a "safe and sane" Christmas there has been a lessening of fatigue and misery for the employees of retail stores. Still there

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are altogether too many unintelligent shoppers and selfish shopkeepers. Last year in New York City six large retail stores and many small neighborhood stores remained open to the public until ten o'clock or later the week before Christmas. In three of these larger stores, moreover, the employees received no extra compensation for their extra exertions. After a working day of fourteen hours in one of these stores last year a waist saleswoman, trembling with fatigue, said to a solicitous friend:

"Tired? I have been wishing all day that I was a horse, so that I would have somebody to look out for my interests."

Shop early and avoid the rush, which exhausts alike your patience and the nerves of the girl behind the counter. Make it a safe and sane Christmas.

WHAT OUGHT THE CONSUMER TO DO?

The British householder who, on the outbreak of the war, discharged eight servants into idleness and sent a check for a hundred pounds to the Prince of Wales' Fund, was held up to scorn by the National Consumers' League at their meeting in New York City on October 8.

Mrs. Florence Kelley, the League's President, announced that the meeting was called to discuss the responsibility of the average consumer toward unemployment in times of great industrial depression; or, as Owen Lovejoy, of the National Child Labor Bureau, expressed it, "We have come here to ask for further light on what we, as consumers, should do to maintain a normal standard of living in times like these."

Should the good citizen yield to the "Buy-a-bale-of-cotton" plea, or send five dollars to the Belgian Relief Fund? Is it right to stop buying books, thereby increasing the already desperate plight of printers and publishers, in order to send more money to the widows and orphans of war? Should a housewife lay in a store of cotton sheets which she does not really need, or give to the Red Cross Fund? These are all very perplexing sides of a difficult problem.

As a concrete example of what should not be done in the way of retrenchment, Mrs. Kelley instanced the various well-meaning societies and associations, of which the New York Chamber of Commerce is the most conspicuous, which have announced that all banquets and dinners would be foregone for this year and the money thereby saved turned over to various relief funds.

She pointed out that such action worked hardship to a large class of waiters, caterers, and florists; that it was hardly fair to ask a waiter to donate so great a proportion of his wages to charity. If extra extravagances could be cut from the cost of such public dinners and the amount saved given to relief abroad, the rest would find its way through normal channels toward relief of unemployment at home.

Mrs. Kelley was asked by the League to formulate a course of action for the average man honestly anxious to do his share in reducing suffering both in Europe and America. She has asked The Outlook to come to her aid in propounding the problem to its readers, together with requests for suggestions looking toward its solution. She puts the question in these words:

"My impulse is to cut down expenditures for food, clothing, servants, household decorations, books, and recreation in order to have more money wherewith to help the suffering; but if we all do this, shall we not produce more unemployment the more conscientious we are?"

We hope that our readers will express their views through letters to The Outlook.

WALL STREET GOES TO SCHOOL

Lately in America it has become the fashion to go to school to learn what preceding generations were content to learn in the rough school of experience. The youth who desires to work at newspaper-making now goes first to a school of journalism, while the conscientious young man with a penchant for politics seeks his preliminary training in some college of political science or bureau of municipal research. And now even Wall Street is going to school.

For some years several of the larger business corporations in New York's financial district have been experimenting with various educational schemes for their own employees. Recently New York University, with the cooperation of the American Institute, the Stock Exchange, the Merchants' Association, and a number of private business firms, has systematized this educational work in such a way as to eliminate the expenses of duplication and individual organization, and at the same time to offer the additional advantage of credit toward university degrees for all the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

work done. On November 10 this school for young business men and women was opened, with courses in Stock Exchange methods, investments, money and credit, theory and history of banking, commercial Spanish, business English, foreign exchange accounting, and foreign trade and shipping in the curriculum. As applicants increase other courses will be added.

Thanks to the generosity of the American Institute, it has been possible to make the tuition fees so low that they will hardly strain the pocket of even the poorest clerks and stenographers. Large business firms have taken up the plan enthusiastically, and many are encouraging their employees to study, while some have made school attendance compulsory. Classes are held in the Stock Exchange and Chamber of Commerce buildings, and, in most cases, recitations occur between four-thirty and six o'clock in the evening, when the rush of the business day is done. The work is under the general supervision of Dr. James E. Lough, head of the Extra-Mural Division of New York University, while Dr. Stuart Cameron McLeod, of the same faculty, is in charge of the branch office at 14 Wall Street. For all studies successfully completed students are given credit toward the degree of Bachelor of Commercial Science in New York University, and it is hoped that eventually this Wall Street institution of learning will grow into a college granting its own degrees.

AN INTERNATIONAL HOSPITAL

The Outlook has called attention more than once to the effort, by the enlargement of St. Luke's Hospital in Tokyo, to convert that admirable institution into a great international hospital, adequately housed and adequately endowed. When Dr. Teusler, the head of the hospital, was in this country last autumn, he presented the appeal of the enterprise from the international point of view with great effectiveness, and reported the generosity of a group of leading Japanese as an expression, not only of their interest in the enterprise, but of their great desire to put in tangible form the friendship of Japan for the United States. Among the most effective supporters of the enterprise has been Count Okuma, the Japanese Prime Minister.

St. Luke's Hospital was established and is being conducted under the auspices of the Episcopal Church; and Dr. Teusler, one of the foremost surgeons in the East, is a missionary physician. These facts give striking significance to the Emperor's gift of twenty-five thousand dollars toward the fund of half a million dollars now being raised. The Premier, at a luncheon in honor of the promoters of the hospital, spoke of his great satisfaction in the fact that, in spite of the struggle now going on in Europe, America and Japan were joining hands in a great charitable and humanitarian work.

It is such works of mercy, not only inspired by a sense of human brotherhood, but conducted in the most practical and helpful ways and serving immediate needs, which drain the springs that have fed wars and which keep the way to peace through international understanding before the minds of men.

AMERICAN RESPONSIBILITY

On the eve of his departure for Europe, Mr. Robert Bacon, formerly Secretary of State and Ambassador to France, issued a statement concerning "aspects of the European war with which we [the people of the United States] have a vital concern." He said that many men believe that we have a high responsibility concerning the violation of Belgium's neutrality.

The United States, Mr. Bacon points out, signed at the Second Hague Conference, among other conventions, one concerning the rights and duties of neutral Powers. They were signed also by Germany. Two articles of this convention are:

"Article 1. The territory of neutral Powers is inviolable."

"Article 2. Belligerents are forbidden to move troops or convoys of either munitions of war or supplies across the territory of a neutral Power."

Thus there was made a treaty between the United States and Germany regarding the very subject which has been raised by this war.

That Germany violated Belgium's neutrality, Germany's official spokesman, the Imperial Chancellor, has admitted. Thus Mr. Bacon says: "In admittedly violating Articles 1 and 2 of that convention Germany broke a treaty she had solemnly made and entered into with the United States." Mr. Bacon continues by asking, "Are we to suffer a nation to break a treaty with us, on whatever pretext, without entering, at least, a formal protest? Will any one contend that our

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

neutrality imposes silence upon us under such conditions? Are the Hague conventions to become 'scraps of paper' without a single word of protest from this Government? As a matter of fact," declared Mr. Bacon, "it is our solemn duty to protest against a violation of pledges formally entered into between this Government and any other government, and we assume a heavy moral responsibility when we remain silent."

Mr. Bacon is not alone in holding the United States to a heavy responsibility. A writer in the "New Statesman" points out that many articles of the Hague conventions are involved in this war. For example, Article 50 of the Convention on Land Warfare reads: "No general penalty, pecuniary or otherwise, shall be inflicted upon the population on account of the acts of individuals for which they cannot be regarded as jointly and severally responsible." The writer in the "New Statesman" says that this seems to prohibit just such acts as the punitive destruction of Visé, Aerschot, Dinant, and Louvain. This is but one of eight breaches of the Hague conventions which the author of this article ascribes to Germany.

"No one will sign future Hague conventions," so this writer believes, "if even such a powerful neutral as the United States does not care enough about them to protest against their open breach. . . . Of the present neutral Powers, the United States of America is the most disinterested and the strongest, and must therefore bear the main burden of the responsibility in this matter. The plain duty of the United States," concludes this writer, "as the trustee of civilization, is to investigate those charges for herself, and, if and when she finds that they are well founded, to take whatever action may be necessary to vindicate the authority of international law."

With regard to illegal and excessive contributions levied on territory occupied by a hostile army, which are forbidden in Articles 49 and 52 of the Hague Convention on Land Warfare, Mr. Roosevelt, under whose Presidency the Hague conventions were signed, has said, in an article in the New York "Times" for November 8: "If these articles do not forbid the levying of such sums as forty million dollars from Brussels and ninety million dollars from the Province of Brabant, then the articles are absolutely meaningless." And he adds, as regards Articles 43 and 50, which forbid the collection of a general penalty for the acts of individuals: "Either this prohibition is meaningless or it prohibits just such acts as the punitive destruction of Visé, Louvain, Aerschot, and Dinant."

"Now, it may be," continues Mr. Roosevelt, "that there is an explanation and justification for a portion of what has been done. But if the Hague conventions mean anything, and if bad faith in the observance of treaties is not to be treated with cynical indifference, then the United States Government should inform itself as to the facts, and should at least put itself on record in reference thereto. The extent to which the action should go may properly be a subject for discussion. But that there should be some action is beyond discussion, unless, indeed, we ourselves are content to take the view that treaties, conventions, and international engagements and agreements of all kinds are to be treated by us and by everybody else as what they have been authoritatively declared to be, 'scraps of paper.'"

From these statements it is plain that, first, one agreement with the United States has been openly violated—an agreement concerning neutral territory; second, other agreements, which prohibit excessive contributions levied upon subjugated territory and general penalties inflicted on account of the acts of individuals, have been violated, unless undisputed and apparently official reports should be explained or disproved; and, third, allegations concerning still further violations of agreements with this country have been made, on authority that cannot be ignored.

The United States is thus no longer—if it ever was—isolated from the rest of the world. Americans have been accustomed to thinking that they live in literally a New World. This war cannot have failed to drive home to the mind of every thinking American that his country is a part of the Old World, the same world in which the people of France and Germany, of Russia and England, of Austria and Belgium, live. Fortunately free from the traditional animosities and prejudices which have entangled the races and nations of Europe, the American people have been too much inclined to think that they were also free from the duties and obligations that rest upon every member of the family of nations. Our very idealism has tended to render our inconsistency more glaring. We have very sincerely and genuinely felt that we could do more than any

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one else to promote throughout the world the cause of peace and good will and international co-operation, since we have been able to grow and prosper because we were free from the threat of war, from neighborhood jealousies, and from the peculiarly bitter rivalry that beset the nations of Europe. And all the while we have ignored the fact that, if we are to do anything to make our ideals of peace, good will, and co-operation effective in a world of international suspicion and intrigue, we cannot stand aloof as if we lived in another world altogether. Washington's warning against entangling alliances has often been read as if it were a warning against our taking our share in the world's burdens. As a matter of fact, we have never in practice so interpreted it. From the time when American arms disciplined the freebooting population of the Barbary coast to the time when an American force marched side by side with forces of England, Germany, France, Russia, Japan, Italy, and Austria, under German leadership, to relieve the foreigners in Peking, the United States has taken part in maintaining and enforcing the public law of nations. Whatever our theories have been, that has been our practice.

In the face of the greatest crisis that has come upon the world in modern times, shall the United States repudiate its past, attempt to follow theories which it has never observed, and evade the responsibility of doing its share in maintaining the public law of nations? If so, it must take the consequences of its inaction: it must withdraw from the family of nations, must make up its mind to engage in no agreements with other nations that entail mutual obligations, must abandon its hope of substituting arbitration and international court action for war; for all these things rest upon the maintenance of a public law of nations that corresponds to the common law that governs individuals. We do not believe that Americans would regard such a withdrawal from the world as desirable even if it were possible. If it is both impossible and undesirable, then there remains only one honorable alternative—to accept with courage and firmness every opportunity to affirm our interest in maintaining this public law. Never before in our history has such an opportunity befallen us as now. When this public law was defied by the Barbary pirates, or even by the turbulent Chinese Boxers, it was not really in peril except as acquiescence by civilized peoples in the violation meant the weakening of the sense of law on the part of those whose duty it was to maintain it; but now it is not barbarians or rioters who have violated this public law, but civilized people under whose authority that law has been put in writing and made the subject of solemn agreement. To say that the United States can be neutral on this subject is equivalent to saying that the United States acquiesces in the doctrine that, after all, there is not, and should not be, any such thing as the public law of civilized nations.

So far there has been no evidence that against this violation the United States has uttered so much as a word of protest. We believe that the time to have uttered such a protest was when the violation was threatened but before it occurred. Our State Department was well informed as to what was threatening during the last days of July and the first days of August. There was not an American Ambassador in Europe who had not the opportunity of knowing what the peril to international law was. If during those days an identical note had been sent out by the Secretary of State to every chancellery in Europe stating that the United States expected the neutral territory of Belgium, Luxemburg, Holland, and Switzerland to be observed in accordance with the Hague conventions to which it, as well as the European nations in question, was a signatory, and that the United States desired immediate assurance that its expectations in this matter would be fulfilled, and that otherwise it would reserve to itself the right to take such action as would seem suitable, the war might not have been checked (though even that is conceivable), but certainly the position of the United States would have been of greater dignity and influence to-day than it is. That, however, is past. We regret that the chance for a preventive protest has irrevocably gone; but the right of the United States to have its voice heard under conditions and at a time when it can be heard most effectively remains. Every American who has regard for his country's good name and for the value of its pledged word must hope that it will be uttered and heard. He will also hope that the utterance of the protest will be in such definite terms and obviously so supported by the determination to act as well as speak that it will suffice to insure the respect for public law which now is in peril.

If, as a consequence of this war, interna-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tional agreements shall have a surer sanction and the public law of nations shall be more firmly established, America must take its part, not by entering into new agreements and writing new laws that are no more valid than the old ones, but by seeing that those that have been written and established are enforced.

DEMOCRACY AND MILITARY PREPARATION: THE PAST AND THE PROBLEM

Critics who accuse our democracy of vacillation and indecision are forced to admit that in one thing at least our history shows us to have been undeniably consistent. We have never at any time been prepared for war.

This characteristic of our American people is one well grounded in tradition and sanctified by needless sufferings inflicted upon almost every generation that has lived within the borders of the United States.

The raw levies who struggled in the French and Indian wars; Massachusetts and Rhode Island stricken in contention with the outraged followers of King Philip; Washington striving to weld an army out of the discordant elements of colonial jealousy; the National Government in 1812 forced to witness the burning of its Capitol by a meager force of three thousand men that had been threatening to ascend the Chesapeake for over a year—the same Government that found it necessary to employ an army of over two hundred thousand soldiers to wage inconclusive warfare upon a British force that numbered less than seventeen thousand; Captain Abraham Lincoln leading his rough and uncouth company of Sangamon County volunteers upon a futile expedition against Black Hawk's Indians; the same Captain Lincoln, as President of the United States, facing for four years history's bloodiest Civil War, and the imminent likelihood that the ideals for which this Nation was founded might go down in utter defeat; the soldiers who in recent memory gave up their lives in the typhoid camps of the Spanish War—all these are but a part of the great host of witnesses who might be summoned to testify to the cost of hands unready for war and of minds untrained to face the greatest of all possible National perils.

It is true, indeed, that we came rightly by our dislike for large standing armies and for conscription, and by our fear of a government able to maintain itself by force at the expense of justice. Cavaliers and the soldiers of Cromwell had both taught our English ancestors all too clearly the peril that lies in a military government. Jealous of our individual liberties, we founded a State upon the belief that the ballot-box was safer than the sword, and that upon our individual citizens alone must rest the ultimate defense of the vote against the weapon.

That is why our Constitution provides that every male of military age shall be classed in the "National militia." That is why both the Articles of the Confederation and the Constitution provided that the organization of this militia should be left to the discretion of the several States. That is why we have been enabled to realize in no small measure the governmental ideals of 1776, and just as surely why we have failed to meet with any certainty the most crucial tests with which our Nation has been confronted.

At no time since the Civil War has the problem of creating a proper balance between our governmental ideals and the necessities of National existence been so clearly and insistently brought to the attention of this country. While across the seas our kindred nations are grappling for their very lives, the possibility that the United States may sometime and somewhere be forced to face such a situation upon its own shores is sobering enough to bring the most sanguine of pacificists to an abrupt halt.

Are we prepared now for such an eventuality? Are we any better prepared than on countless occasions in the past? If we are not prepared, on whom rests the responsibility? What steps should be taken to-day to fit ourselves for such a test? Are changes in our National policy fundamentally necessary for the protection of our very existence? Can we consistently reconcile our needs with our hopes, the conditions that confront us with the ideals upon which we have staked our liberty, our lives, and the future of our race?

These are questions that the European war is bringing insistently home to American citizens. They are questions of vital importance which cannot be thrust aside. The Outlook in the next few months hopes to do its share in the presentation, the definition, and the solution of these problems.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT

He who has read Trevelyan's fascinating "Life of John Bright" has found in it a demonstration of the truth that in a democratic community a political principle may win a political victory not only without any political party to support it but against the determined hostility of both the two great political parties in the nation. The Anti-Corn Law League was not composed of voters. At the outset of the Anti-Corn Law campaign there were very few voters opposed to the protective duty on corn. The landlord interest, supported by the farmers and the agricultural laborers, and the traditions of a country in which tradition is a far stronger force than in America, were united in support of protection. Agitation against it was accounted little better than treason. But the appeal to justice and humanity, interpreted by the cold facts of Cobden and the passionate conscience of Bright, and infused by national distress and threatened famine, proved irresistible, and the repeal was reluctantly, and not without some wry grimaces, effected by the Tory party, the party of landed interest.

We have seen a somewhat similar though less striking demonstration of a popular movement in this country. The Prohibition party has never been able to command in any National election a vote sufficient to make the other political parties reckon with it as a political force. But the anti-saloon sentiment has grown so strong that something approximating half the territory of the United States is reported "dry," and National prohibition begins to be a menace really dreaded by the liquor manufacturing and liquor selling interest.

What may be the future of the Progressive party we shall not venture to predict. Whether the enthusiasm which swept over the country two years ago is extinguished or is only smoldering, to break forth again in 1916, can be determined only by events not now to be foreseen. But that the movement of which that party was an expression is steadily making its way toward ultimate victory appears clear to any careful student of current events. In that movement are two popular demands deeply felt but not always clearly expressed or even clearly defined:

A demand for a more direct control over public affairs by all the people.

A demand for a more equable distribution of wealth, with an accompanying increase of both economic and educational opportunity for all the people.

The first is a demand for government *by* the people; the second is a demand for government *for* the people.

The first issue between conservatism and progressivism may be stated thus: Shall we have government of the people by elected representatives? or shall we have government by the people through representatives elected to carry out the people's will?

The second issue between conservatism and progressivism may be stated thus: Shall all individuals and every combination of individuals be left free to find their own place and win their own prizes in a free competition? or shall government be so administered as to promote some approximation to an equality of opportunity and a just distribution of rewards?

The Progressive party was a product of the progressive movement. It selected certain methods by which and certain leaders by whom that movement might be carried forward. It gave definiteness and it gave impulse to the movement. But the movement preceded the party, and the movement will continue whether the party continues or not.

See what has been accomplished in the movement for more direct participation of the people in the government:

The United States Senators are elected by popular vote.

The direct primary is adopted in an increasing number of States.

The short ballot is getting a hearing by all the people and acceptance by an increasing number of leaders among the people.

The referendum is already being hailed as a conservative measure by conservative organs.

The initiative and the recall are still in the experimental stage. Whether they will be generally adopted or generally rejected, or, as seems to The Outlook most probable, accepted in some localities and rejected in others, or accepted for some purposes and rejected for others, is still undetermined. But they are no longer thoughtlessly rejected as radical and revolutionary.

See what has been accomplished in the movement for better distribution of wealth and opportunity:

A progressive income tax.

Workmen's compensation acts.

Child labor laws.

Laws regulating hours and conditions of labor for women.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Laws regulating hours and conditions of labor for men in hazardous occupations.

Postal express and postal savings banks.

Government regulation of great combinations.

This movement has suffered no defeat. It has suffered no halt. The Outlook ventures to prophesy that it will go on, either by taking possession of one of the two National parties, or by driving the two parties into a competitive bidding for the popular vote, or by the rebirth of a party which will have for its fundamental principle increasing the welfare of all the people by increasing the political power of all the people.

A MODERN ALMANAC

The appearance of the "Atlantic Monthly Almanac" for 1915, with its happy intermingling of astronomical calculations, notes on birds and flowers, and editorial announcements, reminds one of the antiquity of a publication on which our ancestors set great store, and which still hangs beside the fireplace in countless farm-houses. A few years ago that delightful and ingenious writer Mr. Edmund L. Pearson deceived the very elect by issuing an alleged reprint of an old-time almanac, with its record of times and seasons, its weather prophecies covering so many days that they were bound to be fulfilled no matter what happened, its practical advice on a great variety of subjects, and its unblushing advertisements of the medicines that cure every human ill.

Resisting the seductions of the almanacs that were read by the Ptolemies in Alexandria and the thirteenth and fourteenth century calendars preserved in the British Museum, one finds it impossible to pass the "Almanac Liègeois" without stopping to look in its pages now that the old town has put the stamp of its heroism on a whole group of August dates. First published nearly three centuries ago, it was not only delightfully superstitious, but met the illiterate reader more than halfway. Proper times for taking medicines and pills and for the blood-letting which in that time was strictly professional were indicated by vials, pill-boxes, and lancets. The prognostications in these almanacs became so daring and offensive that the authorities finally interfered with the freedom of the press and put metes and bounds to their audacity.

Early English almanacs were not a whit more decent, but they bore the stamp of both university and ecclesiastical authorization. If his Grace the present able Archbishop of Canterbury ever amuses himself on rainy days by looking over the old pamphlets in the library of Lambeth Palace, and happens upon the almanacs approved by his predecessors, he must experience the shock which Sir Walter Scott's aunt felt when the plays of Mrs. Behn, which were read aloud in the best society in her youth, were brought down from the top shelves and placed in her hands. The almanacs issued in Lyons annually for four years, under the editorship of Rabelais, were probably more gross but less indecent than some of the novels now in the hands of respectable people.

That most sagacious of Americans, Benjamin Franklin, made the almanac an institution by the publication of "Poor Richard's Almanac," which appeared in 1732, and carried wit and wisdom through the American colonies for almost a quarter of a century. Poor Richard became the adviser of a host of people. He was a shrewd observer, a keen interpreter of life on the practical plane, and he knew his audience. He also had the literary gift; he made wisdom as plain as a country road, and as usable as a plow. He was never obscure or vague. "Be careful of the main chance or it will never take care of you," said the commonplace generalizer in the rival almanac; "Keep thy shop and thy shop will keep thee," said Poor Richard, and the poor apprentice promptly took the road to fortune. This kind of prognostication doubtless made many a thoughtful boy a prosperous man. To-day prophecy is within reach of any American who will send for the "Nautical Almanac," issued by the United States Navy Department. It is published three years in advance.

The "Atlantic Monthly Almanac" refrains from weather predictions, but keeps up the ancient habit of giving advice. On the 22d of February it reminds its readers that Washington was born, and goes on to say: "Get your bird houses in order." On the 23d of April it happily links the memory of Shakespeare with the suggestion: "You may see the hermit thrush in the woods when you are hunting for hepaticas." Poor Richard would perhaps have said, "A clean shop is the best advertisement;" but this almanac keeps us in the company of great people and of nature. When the birthday of Joel Chandler Harris

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

comes, it not only suggests a visit to the seashore to see the flocks of shore larks and snow buntings, but reminds us that the best skating comes about that time and urges us not to wait until the ice is a foot thick. The December suggestions are specially timely because many people go indoors when winter comes and treat nature as if she had gone south with the birds.

When this modern, revised almanac advises us on the 30th day of December to renew our subscription for the "Atlantic," we do not resent the advice. On the contrary, we know it is good, and we intend to follow it. An almanac without any advertising suggestions would be a mere purveyor of information; the touch of advertising humanizes it.

THE PEACE LADY

"They have healed also the hurt of the daughter of my people slightly, saying, Peace, peace; when there is no peace."—*Jeremiah 6, 14.*

THERE is so much being said nowadays about "woman and war" that it may not be amiss for one of the common, every-day women in the ranks to express a thought. I listened a few days ago to a lady who is a prominent worker in the so-called "peace movement" in Massachusetts and who has recently been abroad to study peace. She seems to consider herself fully qualified for the position of universal arbitrator, does not believe in war under any circumstances, and wants everybody to unite in a concerted effort to drive the Government of the United States to stop making battleships or any other preparations for offensive or defensive warfare. She is doubtless fully posted in all the diplomatic intrigues of the world that might prevent or imperil the peace of nations, as she says herself that she has visited The Hague and seen the beautiful Palace of Peace there, and even had pointed out to her the very desk and chair used by the Peace Envoy from the United States.

She is a positive speaker and has much to say about "woman and peace;" and I, as a woman who loves peace as much as any one, fear she will convince many of the voters that "woman" is only one and of one mind with this Peace Lady. I have no objections to the Peace Lady expressing her own views on any subject whatever; but I do object to her or any one else taking it for granted that all women must, and do, hold the same views.

Many women as well as men do not believe it the part of wisdom for the Nation to be unready for any contingency that may arise. To allow our powder to get damp and our guns to rust would be the surest possible way to invite war.

And it does not follow that, because a man or woman does not believe in the experiment of trying to see what the rest of the world would do if we had no army, navy, or other National defenses, he or she is in the gunpowder business.

I believe the peace propagandists are mostly sincere, but that they belong to the protected class that never had to look out for themselves. They cannot see the coast guards plowing the storm, but can enjoy the inside coziness and don't see what anybody wants to go to war for.

The "Peace Lady" of whom I have spoken said several things that did not seem to be in harmony with my understanding of the history of America. One was that this country has never had a war with any foreign nation that was not begun by this country and that, if the Government had waited, could not have been avoided.

How would the peace people have avoided the Revolution? Would they have abandoned the Americans in Mexico—now Texas—to the fate they would have suffered if there had been no intervention? Did not the blowing up of the battle-ship Maine in Havana Harbor begin war? Is not the present condition of Cuba and the dependencies that were transferred to us by the Spanish War better than the reign of terror that prevailed before? Is it not possible that, had the Powers of Europe in the days gone by united to stop the atrocities, instead of hardening their hearts to the cry of the helpless, things might have been straightened out long ago?

To stand by and see a strong nation crush a weak one is to brutalize ourselves. The "Peace, peace, when there is no peace," is of the same stuff as the complaisance that deprecates uncovering social evils and cruelties because the agitation for reform makes people with property to invest uneasy. The peace that shrinks from shedding blood is worthy of all our praise and our prayers;

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but the peace that will not disturb itself to save life or to liberate the slaves of tyranny—whether the perishing natives of the Congo Free State or of American child labor—is worse than war.

It is worse for the soul life of a nation to be content to be unjust than it is for that people to be putting forth every effort to win or preserve liberty.

Our experience in the Civil War should be remembered, and so heeded as never to allow the defenses and the army to be so scattered or so far below the highest point of efficiency as to be unready at any time to cope with any foe within or without.

History does not bear out the theory that a nation's poverty is a guarantee that it will not soon be willing to fight. Many a man and general besides Napoleon and Jack Johnson have gone to war for the sake of the gold as well as the glory.

As to the advisability and righteousness of bringing other races into a war with white people, I have nothing to say; but they might not be impressed by the disarmament in just the way the Peace Lady thinks. They are in the same scrimmage now, and will have hereafter to be borne in mind in all calculations as to probable war or peace.

There was a woman in Europe who did not prepare to guard her throne by force of arms—the beautiful young Queen of Luxemburg. We know how futile was her sweet, feminine appeal to the advancing Uhlans.

Early in the war I read in the morning paper that the Powers at war had decided to respect the neutrality of Switzerland. The editor had added to the despatch the pertinent remark that "doubtless the very efficient little army of Switzerland had been an effective argument for neutrality."

A short time ago I listened to the story of a young lady—a teacher who had spent several years teaching in a Spanish college—who told of her experience in a Swiss city at the time the war was declared.

She was unable to sleep that night on account of the steady tramp of men marching past her window in the wide street of the town. From twelve until five o'clock in the morning thousands of men on foot, silent as ghosts, marched by with their faces set toward the frontier. The next night the same scene was repeated, only they were the men of the heavy artillery and were accompanied by their great guns. The third night from twelve until five the street was again full of stern-faced men—the Swiss cavalry—going toward the frontier.

They were the effective arguments for the nations at war to respect the neutrality of Switzerland. Those men did not want war; but what would have been the fate of their country had she waited to begin to drill her men until the fighting armies were at her door?

The United States has been fortunate in having had only wars with inferior nations or with England when that country was weakened and distracted by wars with other nations. Where would our chance to evolve a system of defense and drill an army be if we were to be pressed by a foe as formidable as Germany?

The Monroe Doctrine is not a dead letter, but it will need force to make the world respect it. The theory that the world has so far advanced that there will be no more war for conquest has been disproved. The mines of the Americans and their broad and fertile fields are as tempting to the lean and hungry as they were to the adventurers of Spain. They found a gentle, cultivated people who were too peaceful to dream that it was necessary for them to be prepared to defend themselves as long as they were at peace. Did the pleasant manners of the Aztec king avail to save him and his people?

And when the kings shall have shed their own blood and each other's there will still be the "Moabites" to deal with—and then "Moab for the spoil!" The forces of civilization will have the work of a century to do again to rid the sea of pirates, to protect the missionaries, combat the advance of disease, and carry relief to all parts of the earth.

There are prison doors yet to be opened, hungry to be fed, and the helpless to be protected. May the God of love bring peace!

I pray for peace, but I am afraid my faith is like that of the Scotch dominie whose parishioners insisted that he pray for rain when he did not think the signs were propitious for a shower. He announced the prayer-meeting to intercede for rain, and added: "But ye'll na get it till the wind changes." The wind must change before we can look for universal peace. In the meantime it were well to advise Uncle Sam, if we are called on to do so, that he do as the prophet commanded: "Strengthen thyself, . . . and see what thou doest."

ELLEN STATA TAYLOR.

Norwood, Massachusetts.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE POSSIBILITY AND PERIL OF A HOLY WAR

A PERSIAN VIEW

BY YOUEL B. MIRZA

AUTHOR OF "IRAN AND THE IRANIANS"

Since the following article was written Turkey has become a participant in the world war. What the author here speaks of, therefore, as a possibility has already come to pass. This fact adds to the interest and value of what he says. For example, the author writes that "it yet remains to be seen whether Turkey will be drawn into this gigantic conflict. If she is, then a Holy War is inevitable." The author's prediction has come true. Almost immediately following Turkey's hostile acts the Sheik-ul-Islam declared the Jehad or Holy War, announcing that it was the duty of all Moslems in every part of the world to fight against Turkey's enemies. What does this Holy War signify? The writer of this article gives his answer from a Persian point of view. His home is in Urumia, Persia. He has been a student at Ohio Wesleyan University and at the Bible College, Philadelphia, and has received his master's degree from Johns Hopkins. In last week's Outlook Mr. Arthur Bullard gave reasons for believing that the declaration of the Holy War would not raise the whirlwind of death and terror of a Pan-Islamic revolt. The reasons for believing that such a general Mohammedan uprising is possible are given in the article here published.—THE EDITORS.

THE probability of Turkey's joining in the European war has been frequently mentioned in the press and in diplomatic circles. If this should occur, the question arises: What action might Turkish authority take to cripple the power of her enemies in those countries ruled by England and France and inhabited for the most part by Mohammedans? Could Turkey proclaim a holy war, and thus light the torch which would mean the death of thousands of Christians in these countries?

In answering this question it must be remembered that the restraining influence exercised by European nations in times of peace is now demoralized, and Europe itself is furnishing only too many examples of atrocious destruction of life and property.

Another very important factor should be borne in mind: the Christian population in Mohammedan countries is, in the minds of Mohammedans, "undesirable." The life of the Christians who live among those we call "heathens" is anything but happy. The Mohammedan never calls his Christian neighbor by his name, nor does he ever call him a Christian. The name for a Christian is heard from the lips of boys in the street as "*giaour*," which means "unclean." This word is in the youth's mind from childhood, and as he grows up he begins to hate the Christians and to hold himself aloof from them. A Mohammedan would not eat with a Christian nor eat bread mixed by a Christian. As a matter of fact, however, the Christians ought to thank the Prophet for not permitting his followers to eat the Christians' bread, for if they did the Christians would be starved.

If a Christian touches the garment of his Mohammedan neighbor with wet hands, he is not only made to pay the cost of the garment but he receives also a good clubbing. Of course this custom is practiced mainly by people who live in villages and are, for the most part, the ignorant class.

In general, the Mohammedans refuse absolutely to use anything made by a Christian.[1]

Speaking generally, the Christian is the servant of the Mohammedan. He is his peasant, and his livelihood depends on his Mohammedan neighbors. All the land and

[1] Some years ago it was said that the sugar the Mohammedans used was brought from France; to that a priest added that the sugar was made from the boiled bones of animals. It was a long time before the Mohammedans were convinced that they had been misled.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

villages are owned or leased by the Mohammedans. There are only a few Christians who can call as much as seven acres of land their own. But at the same time the Christians enjoy the utmost toleration. Their churches are open on Sundays, or on any other day if they feel like worshiping. Their meetings are not disturbed by the Mohammedans. The only restriction put upon the Christians is that they must not insist that their religion offers the only means of getting true salvation and that the Apostle Peter has the only key that can open the gates of heaven.

In his interesting book on "Pan-Germanism" Dr. Usher, in speaking of the Balkans, says: "For centuries the Balkans have been the seat of the most intense religious hatred, and are the only states where active warfare still exists between the Christian and the infidel and between the Latin and Greek Churches, and these different races live so near one another as to result in constant reprisals which keep the community in a condition of alarm and anxiety."

The same feeling exists in Persia and Turkey, but, the Christians being so few in number, little attention is paid to them. Often the Mohammedans content themselves with maintaining order among the rival sects of Christians. In fact, whenever you see a Christian in prison he is usually accused by his fellow-Christians. A Mohammedan would never bring suit against a Christian. If a Christian swears at a Mohammedan and insists on calling him names, the believer will then club him on the back or head and let him go to his home with a few bruises.

Under an Oriental form of government it is absolutely impossible for the people to take an interest in political affairs. The masses are down on the government and the government is down on the masses. To say that the Christian population get the worst treatment is hardly true. They believe they do because the officials are all Mohammedans, and to them a Mohammedan government and the Prophet himself are the greatest curse God ever placed on mankind. Should the Christian population have an opportunity, I believe they would drink the blood of the Mohammedans as if it were a luxury. It is all religious hatred.

Of course we know that the form of government referred to is not perfect; but show us anywhere a perfect government! A perfect government, as Rousseau explains it, is in heaven, and the kingdom is far from being upon the earth.

To say that the Christians are not in danger in Turkey is out of the question. They really are in great danger of being massacred should Turkey enter into this war. In the first place, the Christians would rather be killed by the Turks than fight against Christian nations; and, in the second place, it is very improbable that the Mohammedans would go to war and leave the healthy Christians in the land among their unprotected women and children. We do not say positively that Christians have not been sent to the front by the Mohammedan Government, but when the attempt has been made the results have been very bad; it usually has taken a regiment to keep them from rebelling against their officers. This was proved in the Russian and Persian War in 1877, and also to some extent in the recent Balkan War.

We now find England and France bringing the Mohammedans from their colonies, and they are making a good showing, but it is hardly probable, should Turkey enter into this war, that the Mohammedan population would fight against Turkey. They regard themselves as governed by a stepmother, so to speak, and no matter how well they are treated they feel that they are under a foreign power, and they cherish the expectation that one day they shall be governed again by the descendants of Mohammed, Abu Beker, and Osman.

The Armenians, who form the greatest number of Christians living under the Turkish Government, are not interested in the political aspect of the country. Their chief aim is to increase their trade and business, to which they are very devoted, and in which they meet with great success, no matter where they are. Nothing can be more pitiable than the condition of these poor people. They are plundered unceasingly in the most arbitrary manner by the tax collectors, and are constantly exposed to the robberies of the Kurds. The Kurds do not consider a man's religion and standing; they would rob a Turk or a Persian as well as an Armenian or a Greek. The Ottoman Porte has not the power to interfere.

There are times when the condition of the Christian becomes more serious than at others; for instance, when the Mohammedan nation is at war with a Christian nation. At the present time, owing to the European con-

(Continued on page following illustrations)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Current Events Pictorially Treated

PHOTOGRAPH BY MOFFATT STUDIO

HIRAM W. JOHNSON
Progressive
Re-elected Governor of California

COPYRIGHT BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOGD

CHARLES S. WHITMAN
Republican
Governor-elect of New York

PHOTOGRAPH BY GEORGE GRANTHAM BAIN

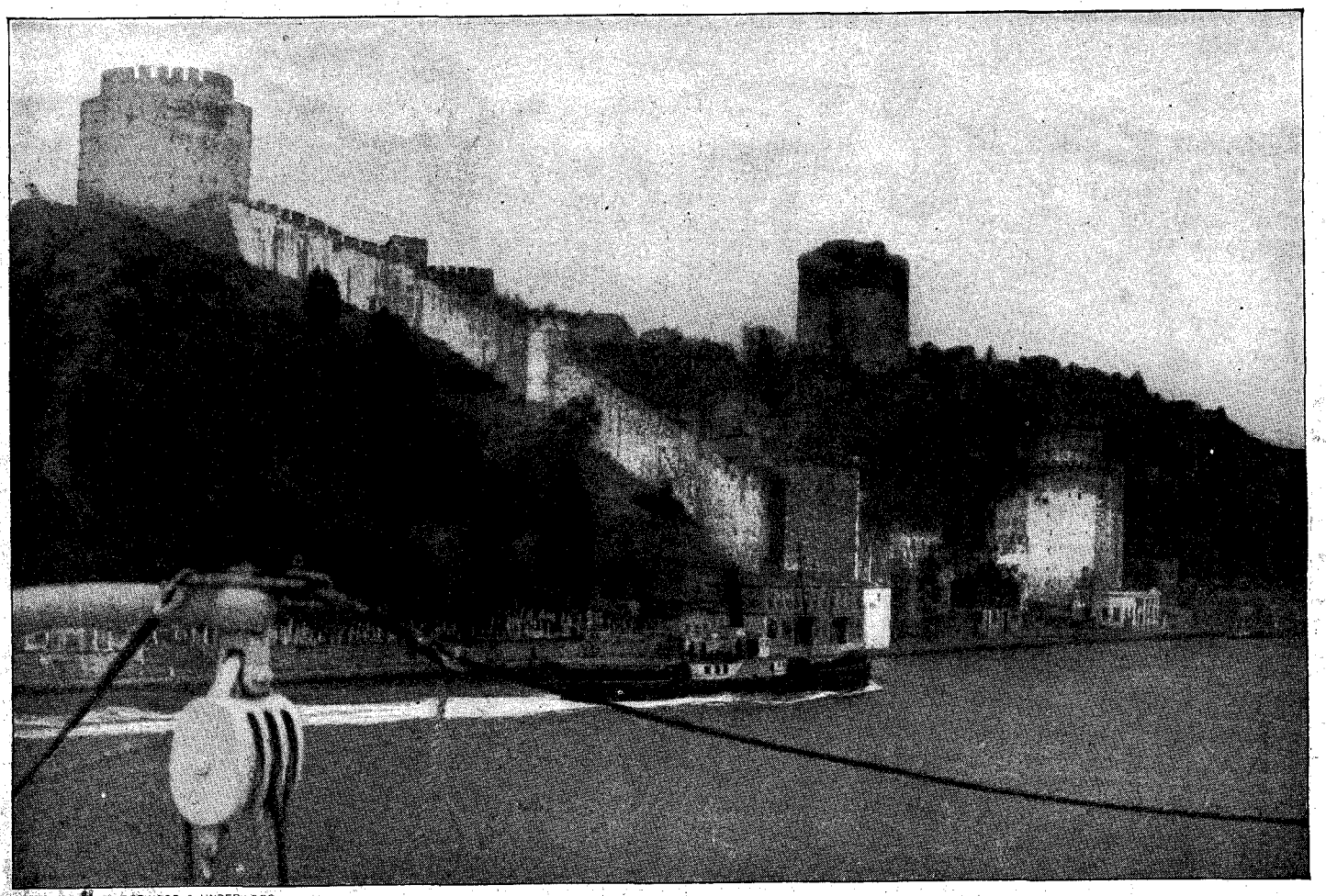
MEYER LONDON
Socialist
Congressman-elect from New York City

PHOTOGRAPH BY AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

DAVID I. WALSH
Democrat
Re-elected Governor of Massachusetts

REPRESENTATIVE MEN OF VARIOUS PARTIES WHO WERE SUCCESSFUL IN THIS YEAR'S ELECTIONS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

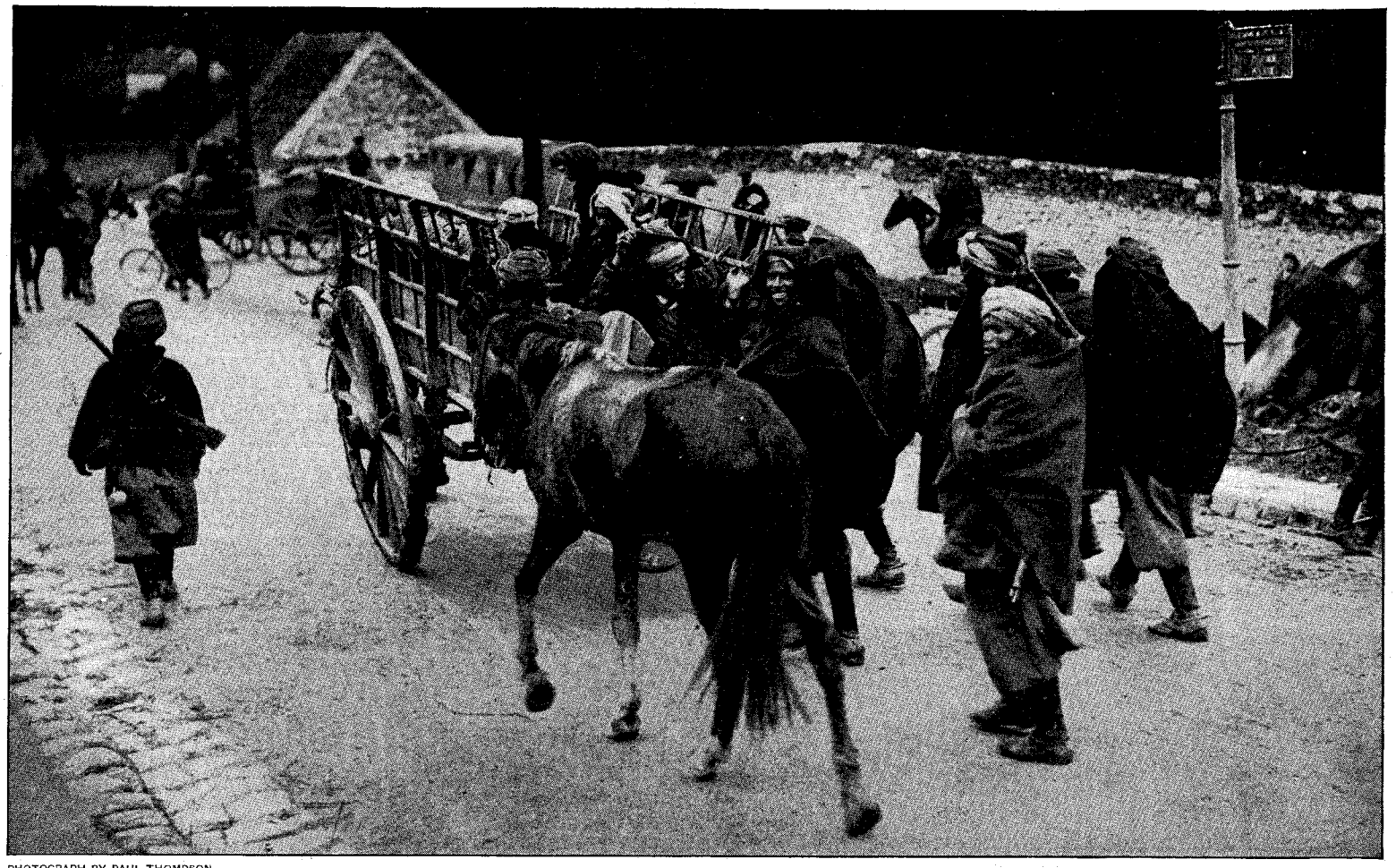


COPYRIGHT BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

FORTIFICATIONS THAT GUARD ONE OF THE WAR'S GREAT PRIZES

Constantinople, which compares favorably with any of the world's capitals for beauty of situation and splendid possibilities, is probably destined to witness stirring scenes within a short time. The Turkish capital may quite possibly pass into Christian hands as a result of the war. The picture shows the somewhat antiquated defenses on the Bosphorus, as seen from a passing vessel

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

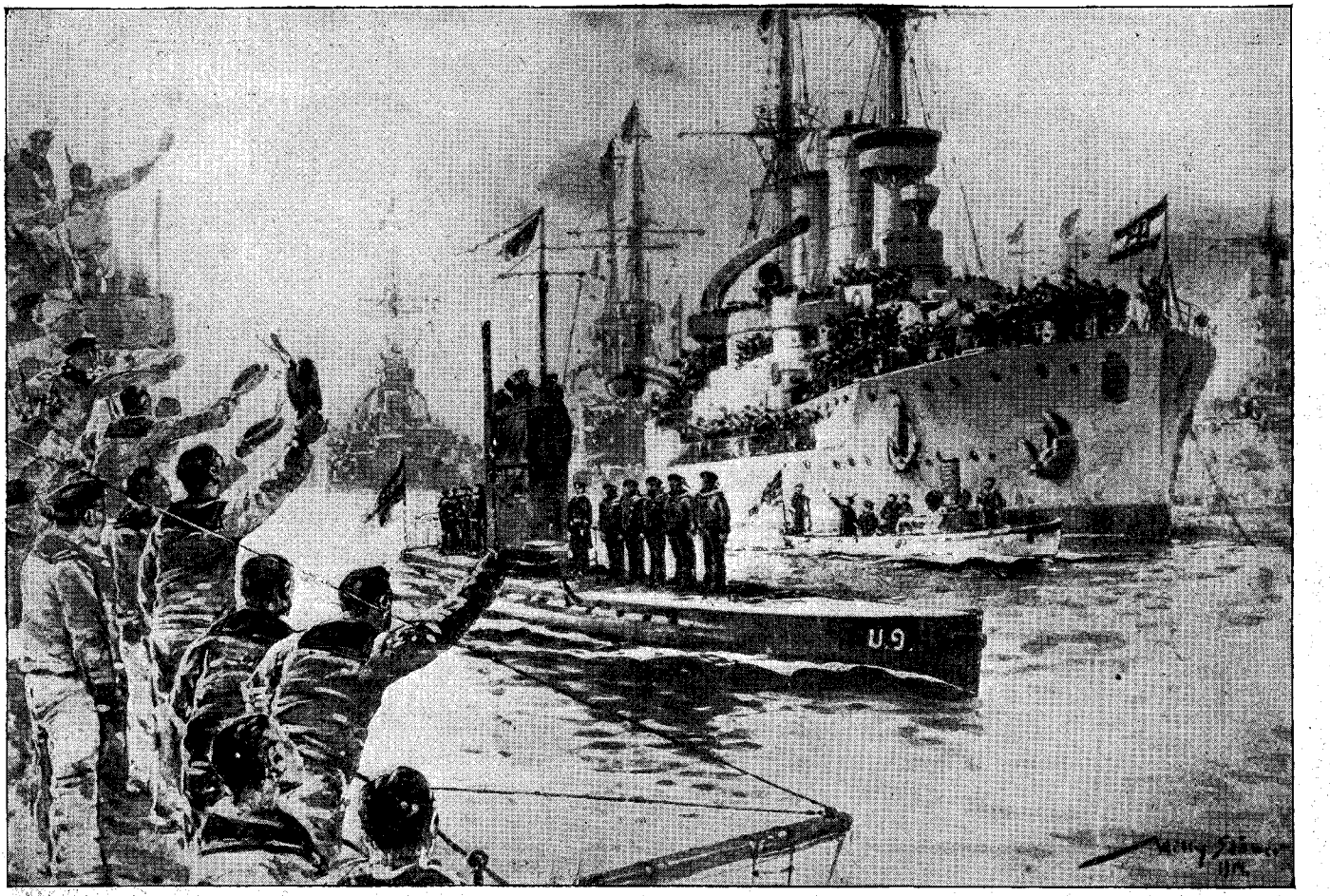


PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL THOMPSON

TURCOS FIGHTING FOR FRANCE

One of the anomalies of the war is the presence in France of Mohammedan troops from her African colonies, who are engaged in fighting the Germans; while the Turks, as allies of Germany, are now fighting the French. The photograph shows a detachment of the Algerian troops escorting some of their wounded to a place of safety

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

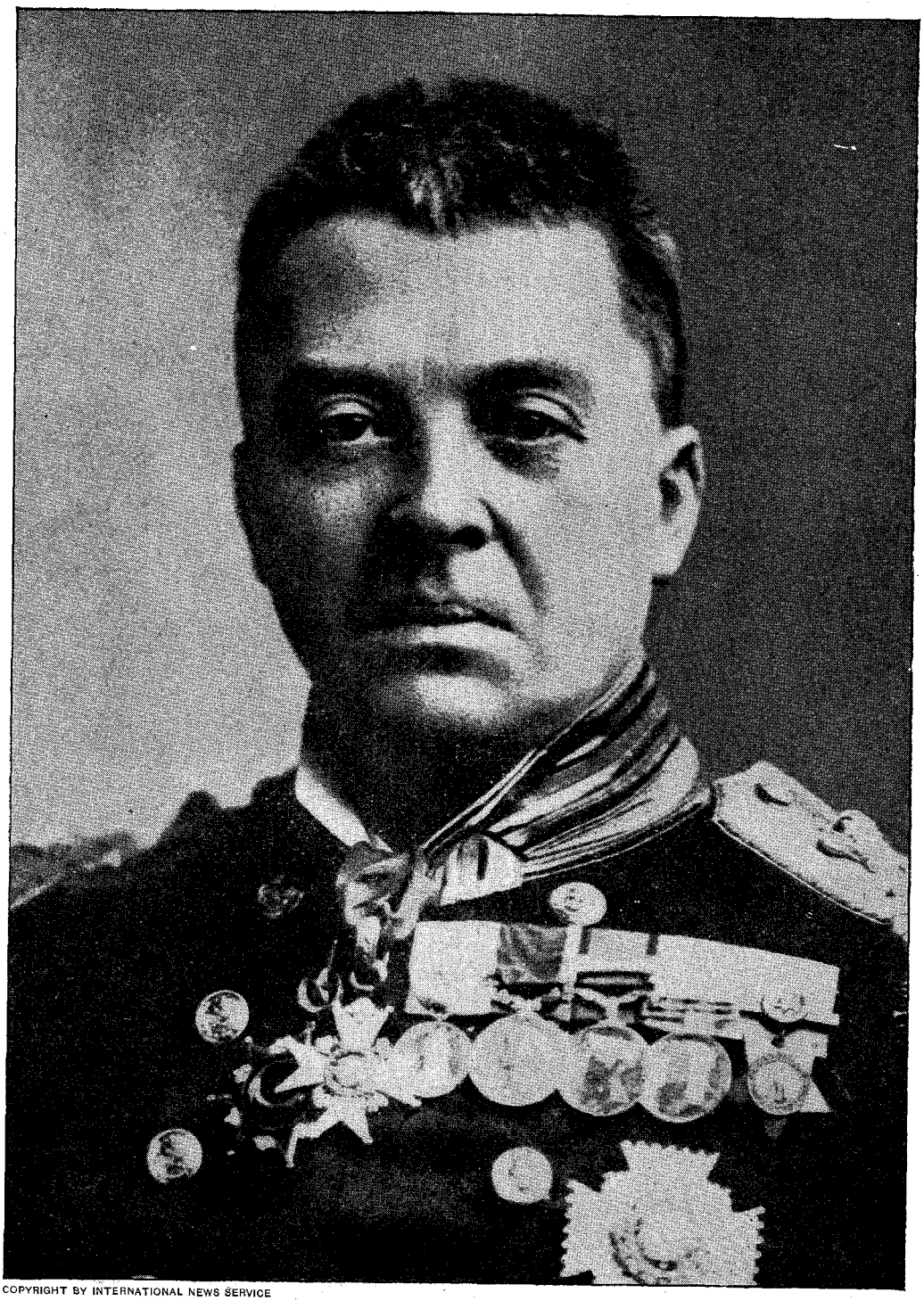


COPYRIGHT BY AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

A TRIUMPHAL RECEPTION ACCORDED TO A GERMAN NAVAL HERO

Commander Widdigen, of the submarine U9, which sank the four British cruisers Hogue, Aboukir, Cressy, and Hawke, received a great welcome at Wilhelmshaven recently. The above picture was drawn by a German artist, Willy Stöwer, who witnessed the reception

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

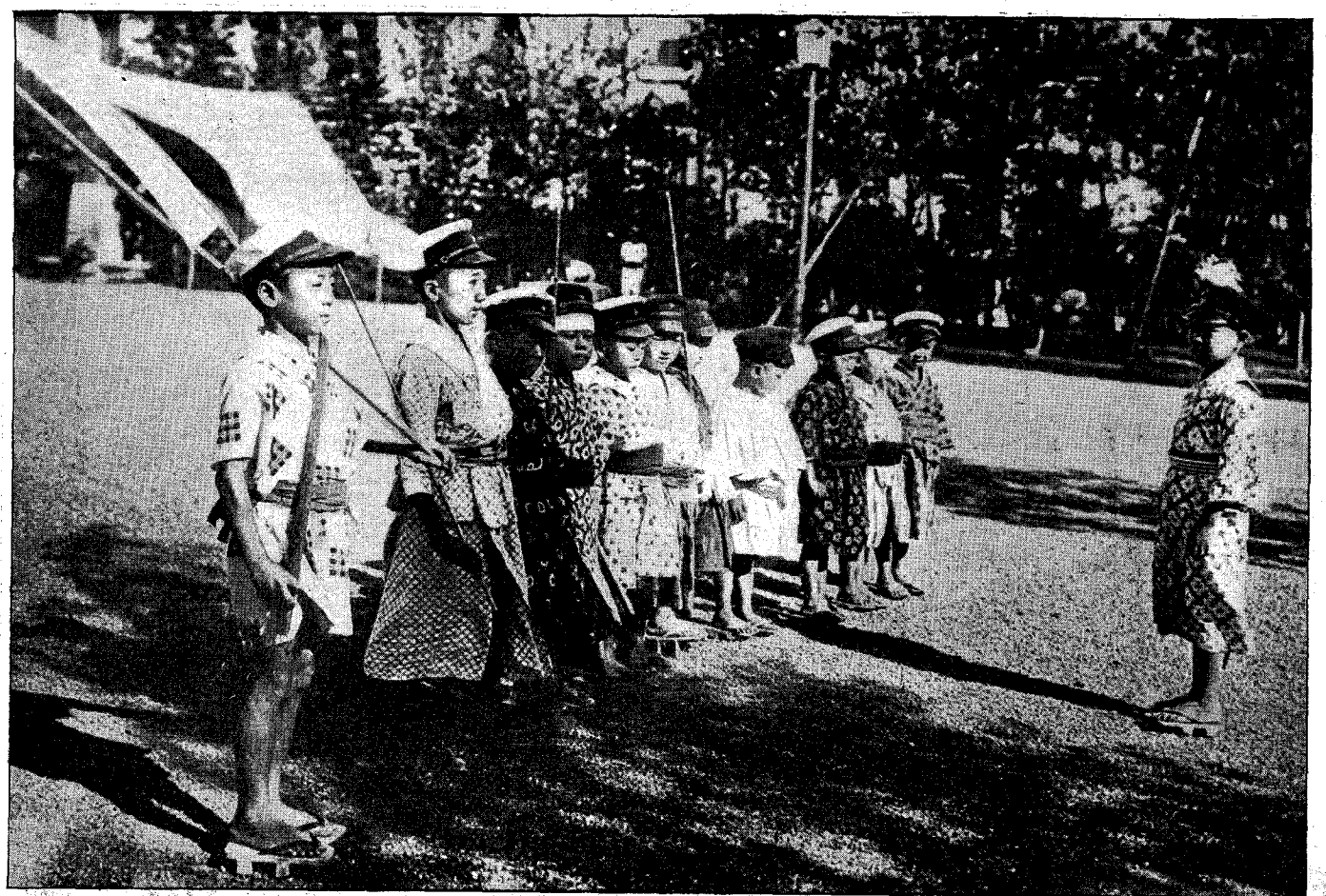


COPYRIGHT BY INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE

THE NEW BRITISH NAVAL CHIEF

Baron Fisher, whose picture appears above, succeeds Prince Louis of Battenberg as First Sea Lord of the Admiralty. He was born in 1841; entered the navy in 1854; served in the Crimean War; has held many high administrative offices in the navy; and in 1899 was a delegate to the Peace Conference at The Hague. Renewed activity on the part of the British fleets may possibly signalize his elevation to the highest position in naval affairs. He resumes now the post he held from 1904 to 1910

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



COPYRIGHT BY AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

JAPANESE CHILDREN TRAINING FOR THEIR FUTURE DUTIES AS SOLDIERS

The children of Tokyo like to "play soldier," as do the children of other nations; some of them are shown in the picture getting their first lessons in the art of warfare, which has been practiced with such success by their elders throughout Japan's entire history

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PHOTOGRAPH BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

AMERICAN GIRLS IN TRAINING FOR THEIR FUTURE CAREERS AS EFFICIENT HOUSEWIVES

The new public markets in New York City have been used as object-lessons in imparting information to classes in domestic economy as to the best methods of buying economically. Practical instruction of this kind will undoubtedly help to solve the domestic problems of the next generation, and, as American children often pass on to their parents the information they gain at school, may be helpful at the present time in reducing the high cost of living

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DRAWN FOR THE OUTLOOK BY W. C. MORRIS

AUNTIE DEMOCRACY—"AND YOU NEVER SAID YOU WOULDN'T TAKE A SECOND CUP, DID YOU, WOODROW?"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

flict, there is great danger of an outbreak. Should this be started now, there is only one way by which it could be checked, viz., by the command of the Caliph or of the heads of the Mohammedan mosques, who are termed mullahs. The mullahs are very numerous. In every village, no matter how small, there is a mullah, who acts as a judge, a teacher, and also as an advice giver. The decrees of these theologians are very effective, as they come from the heads of the Church. To show the power and the standing of these men it is necessary only to call the attention of the reader to the following incident which happened in Persia: A tobacco concession was granted to an English corporation by the Persian Shah. When it was pointed out that the Persian Government had been outwitted, and the people were to be taxed for the benefit of the foreigners, the people simply became panic-stricken. In the first place, the concession lessened the English prestige, and, in the second place, it diminished the influence of Christianity among the people, for the concession was granted to the citizens of a Christian nation. To the gratification of the natives, this obnoxious monopoly was partially abolished.[1] The great teacher Mullah Hassam, from Shiraz, Chief of Kerbela, issued a proclamation forbidding the use of tobacco in any form as long as this monopoly continued. The effect of this decree was wonderful, and it worked like magic. Every man laid away his pipe, and some maintained that their desire for tobacco had disappeared entirely. All the women in the country, all the harems, closed their doors on the weed. The soldiers disobeyed their officers and declared that they would obey the Chief of Kerbela; and at last Nozeraldan, the Shah who had granted the concession, was assassinated. At this period the Christian population was in great danger, not knowing what kind of decree would be issued by the pope of the *Shies* in the next few hours. He could have played the death march of all the Christians in Persia by saying, "Kill the *giaours!*"

This is only one instance, and a comparatively insignificant one, of the danger to which the Christians are exposed. The Caliph's decree would be a call to arms of all the Mohammedans of the Sunna sect. His position is stronger than that of the Czar of Russia. To him every one bows whenever the muezzin calls to prayer. The believers swear by him, for they believe him to be the descendant of the Caliph of Bagdad.

A writer in a recent book[1] remarks as follows: "Might not the Sultan, properly 'inspired' in some way, be inclined to instigate or proclaim such a war at a time when English and French authority in Africa and Asia might for all practical purposes be extinguished by it? An outbreak as general and as powerful might conceivably compel them to send reinforcements from Europe to such an extent as to weaken them at home and permit Germany to begin the final stages of the war with every prospect of complete success."

The "time" has come, and it remains yet to be seen whether Turkey will be drawn into this gigantic conflict. If she is, then a holy war is inevitable. I believe that England and France are giving to their Mohammedan subjects the best form of government and the kind of laws that punish the criminal and reward the just. But that is not what they want. They want forgiveness for their misdeeds, and they cannot get it under the English law; and, further, they object to being punished by a stepmother, just as Christians in Turkey would rather be judged and punished by some Christian power.

Then, again, under the Mohammedan law the Mohammedans can be forgiven, but the English law knows no forgiveness. It is the law of the land, and every one is subject to its just rewards. Mohammedans abhor such a system. They want to be under the Sultan and punished by their own law.

In conclusion, from what I have observed in the Orient, where I have heard the Mohammedans almost sigh for a holy war, I am persuaded that they would not hesitate to come back from Asia and Africa in answer to the call of the Sultan; and, if that unfortunate day ever dawns, it will take a better general than Charles Martel to defeat them, and there will be a greater battle than that of Tours.

Allah help us!

[1] Concerning this concession see Professor E. G. Brown's work on the "Persian Revolution."

[1] Dr. Usher's book on "Pan-Germanism," pages 112–113.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE HISTORICAL ROOTS OF THE WAR

IX—FRENCH REPUBLICS AND FRENCH PRESIDENTS

BY ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

PROFESSOR OF GOVERNMENT AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY

FRENCH Republican Ideas. A favorite doctrine of old writers on the American Revolution is that it was partly due to French democratic ideas, imported into the United States by Franklin and Jefferson, backed up by the democratic writings of Voltaire and Rousseau. The France of the *ancien régime* felt a literary interest in the republics of Greece and Rome; and in the *salons* people talked of "republican simplicity" and "republican virtue" and "republican government;" but Americans knew little of that fashionable discussion. Rousseau's "Contrat Social," which was an epoch-making book in France, was little known and read in America. Franklin certainly did not need to go to France to learn democratic notions of government, and Jefferson never saw France till after our Revolution was all over.

The influence was all the other way. Franklin was accepted by the French as a standard proof that popular government could produce men of wisdom and of literary gifts. The French Revolution must have arrived before long, because the country had outgrown its form of government; but it was hastened by the American Revolution. Lafayette, who learned some of his liberal principles at the table of Washington, became a striking figure in the French Revolution. The American pamphleteer who did most to fire the hearts of our forefathers was Thomas Paine; for a time he sat in the French Convention. Indeed, that body once enacted for France the New England system of town meetings, which worked about as well as a Connecticut town meeting would work if the moderator were a prefect sent down from Hartford by the Governor. The French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen was a conscious attempt to repeat the bills of rights found in the American State Constitutions. Our Declaration of Independence, penned by Thomas Jefferson, became a kind of state paper for the French. American democracy, American simplicity, American popular government, were parts of the foundation of French republicanism.

The First Republic of 1793. The main difficulty in putting these great ideas into operation was the monarchy, which had been established ten centuries. This was swept away by a decree abolishing royalty, issued September 21, 1792, by the Convention elected as a representative body for all France. Unfortunately for peace and concord, "Louis Capet, *ci-devant* King of France," remained a prisoner. If George III had fallen into the hands of the minute-men at the battles of Lexington and Concord, they would hardly have known how to dispose of him. The French found their way out of such a dilemma by remembering Charles I, and guillotined their *ci-devant* monarch. That act, combined with the relentless persecution of the former nobility, divided France from top to bottom into a royalist and a republican faction, which continued in one form or another until about 1910.

Other troubles were the lack of experience of government by a deliberative body and the immediate and pressing danger from foreign enemies. The result was that the new republic drifted straight into the hands of a self-appointed and constantly changing body called the Committee of Public Safety, one of whose instruments was the Revolutionary Tribunal. The Republican Government treated the royalists exactly as the royalists would have treated them had they been successful—with a blood bath. The guillotine worked first upon the royalists, then on the moderate republicans, and finally on the extreme radicals. The late Professor von Holst used to compare the French Revolution to "Saturn devouring his own children."

It must never be forgotten that, notwithstanding the tyranny and the brutality of the French Republic, it was victorious against all the armies that attacked it; and that it accepted a lively naval war with Great Britain. There was at one time a party that wished to make France a federation on the model of the United States; but the plan of a highly centralized government divided into about

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

eighty departments, each of them exactly like every other department, won the day. When the Terror was passed; when the Juggernaut Convention, tugged by the Parisian mob, rolled over its own conductor, Danton; when, on July 27, 1794, Robespierre went to the scaffold, France breathed freely again and began to prepare for a better organized Republic.

The Second Republic of 1795. The Second Republic is commonly called the Directory, from the Executive Council which was the active part of the Government. By a formal written constitution a Council of Five Hundred was established, with a co-ordinate Council of Elders and an Executive Directory of five persons. The royalists attempted to raise the people of Paris against it, and the Directory appointed a brilliant young officer named Napoleon Bonaparte to defend the new Government. In the famous "Day of the Sections" he broke up the opposition, and the new Government went into undisputed operation on October 27, 1795.

The Councils were of little significance; the decisions were made by the Directory, in which Reubell, Barras, Carnot, and Siéyès are the names best remembered. Siéyès was the statesman who once wrote to a friend asking him to send him a copy of some written constitutions, because "he had to draw up a constitution for France and present it the next morning!" Another school of constitution-makers was represented by the genius who summed up his political principles in the following complete document:

"*Article One.* No one in France is obliged to do anything.

"*Article Two.* No public authority is authorized to enforce this constitution."

Within a few months the strongest power in France became the General Bonaparte who was winning such amazing victories in Italy. The Directory was therefore relieved when, in 1798, he went out to Egypt, and was correspondingly depressed when he returned to Paris in 1799 and broke up the Republican government. One of the last acts of the Directory was to seek through Talleyrand a bribe from the American commissioners, Pinckney, Gerry, and Marshall, a transaction commonly called the "X Y Z Incident."

Napoleon Bonaparte then set up a Consulate, in which, by a singular coincidence, Napoleon Bonaparte was First Consul and practically head of the state. This document was the first one in France to be submitted to popular vote, and the return as announced showed 3,000,000 votes in favor and 1,567 votes against. It was practically the restoration of monarchy. In 1804 the last trace of the Second Republic disappeared when Napoleon made himself Emperor of the French.

The Third Republic of 1848. In 1830, when the Bourbon monarch was overthrown, there was a Republican party in France, but they could not prevent the acceptance of Louis Philippe as King. This effort to create a popular monarchy supported by the middle class was successful for eighteen years; and then the whole thing collapsed. The royal Government was not tyrannical nor Bourbon in sentiment; Louis Philippe brought home the bones of Napoleon I and solemnly interred them in the Invalides. People simply got tired of a weak but respectable government, and in February, 1848, after three days' fighting in the streets of Paris, a Third Republic was proclaimed. The state tried the experiment of guaranteeing employment to every comer. The burden was too much; the national workshops were shut, and again there were days of street fighting in Paris.

Meanwhile three monarchical parties were contending for the lead: the old Bourbon "Legitimists;" the "Orleanists," who supported the house of Louis Philippe; and the "Bonapartists." In December, 1848, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, nephew of the great Napoleon, was elected President. Three years later, December 2, 1851, he suddenly arrested and imprisoned the members of the Assembly who were hostile to him, declared the Constitution of no force, and shot down innocent people right and left in the streets. For his sins he managed to include Victor Hugo among the captives, and later the great writer pilloried the Little Napoleon in his book "The History of a Crime."

The Fourth Republic of 1870. In every effort to establish the Republic of France the decision was made at the capital. If the people of Paris insisted on a government or were driven by grapeshot into accepting it, there was no center of resistance elsewhere in France to gainsay them. France did not want either Louis Napoleon or the Second Empire which he established; but they put up with him, and he had nineteen years in which to show the fearful harm that can be done by an unprincipled monarch. In 1852

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

he "went to the country," as the English say, and received eight million votes in favor of his Empire, against two hundred and fifty thousand. Such a vote meant little more than that seven million people did not wish to be in the black books of the Government. A wit dubbed this so-called plebiscite "a device for voting yes." As late as 1870 a majority of nearly six million people expressed their satisfaction with the Empire.

That Empire, however, was honeycombed with corruption and weakness. July 15, 1870, the legislative body voted for war against Prussia. September 2, 1870, Napoleon III was a prisoner of the Germans at Sedan, and never again set foot in France. A handsome street in Paris, Quatre Septembre, commemorates the moment, two days later, when a Republic was again proclaimed in France.

The difficulties in the way of this new Government were terrible. German armies moved down and in a few days invested Paris. The city was soon so beleaguered that Gambetta, one of the most active spirits in the new Government, made his escape from the city in a balloon and began to organize resistance in the provinces. The Republic inherited the humiliation deserved by the Empire. Its first National Assembly met February 13, 1871, sixteen days after the surrender of Paris, and was obliged a few weeks later to agree to give up Alsace-Lorraine and to pay a thousand million dollars to the conquerors. Before the final peace was signed the Parisian populace formed a Commune, seized the city, and it had to be taken by a second siege, during which the leaders of the Commune deliberately set fire to many of the public buildings.

At the beginning, the majority of the voters in France were against a republic and looked upon it as only a temporary affair. More than three years passed before it was even likely that the Republic would endure. The Legitimists, represented by the Comte de Chambord, the Orleanists, whose head was the Comte de Paris, son of Louis Philippe, and the Bonapartists, who stood by Napoleon III or his son, the Prince Imperial, united against it. The Assembly offered the crown to the Comte de Chambord, and he refused it because kings of France flew a white flag, and he could not reign under the tricolor, which recalled the Revolution. Marshal MacMahon was then made President, with the expectation that he would bring about a monarchy; and it was not till February 18, 1875, that a republican constitution was adopted and the new nation fairly took its place under the standard of popular government.

Presidents of the French Republic. The heads of the state ever since 1871 have been called Presidents, and the list of those who have held this office is as follows:

I.	1871, Feb. 18.	Louis Adolphe Thiers, "Chief of the Executive Powers." (Received a new title.)
	1871, Aug. 30.	Louis Adolphe Thiers, "President of the French Republic." (Resigned under pressure.)
II.	1873, May 24.	Marie Edmé Patrice Maurice de MacMahon, "President of the French Republic." (Received a new designation.)
	1873, Nov. 19.	Marie Edmé Patrice Maurice de MacMahon, President of the Republic for seven years. (Resigned under pressure.)
III.	1879, Jan. 30.	Jules Grévy, First President under the permanent Constitution. (Term expired.)
	1885, Dec. 28.	Jules Grévy, re-elected. (Resigned under pressure.)
IV.	1887, Dec. 3.	Marie François Sadi Carnot, descendant of Carnot, member of the Committee of Public Safety in the French Revolution. (Assassinated.)
V.	1894, June 27.	Jean Paul Pierre Casimir-Périer. (Resigned.)
VI.	1895, Jan. 17.	Felix Faure. (Died in office.)
VII.	1899, Feb. 18.	Émile Loubet. (Term expired.)
VIII.	1906, Feb. 18.	Clément Fallières. (Term expired.)
IX.	1913, Feb. 18.	Raymond Poincaré.

Of these men the only one of world reputation is Thiers, who was the ablest of several literary statesmen. Dry, undemonstrative, cold, Thiers steered the bark of the Republic through perilous waters, raised the five milliards necessary to bring about the withdrawal of the German troops, and was hailed from his place in the Assembly by the acclamations of the members as "the Liberator

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of our territory." He was forced out by the royalists, who saw in him the main obstacle to their plans. MacMahon was an honest and bluff soldier who was placed in office in order to keep the machine running steadily until a king could be provided; and he was forced out before the end of his term in order to prevent his re-election, because he was thought not to be favorable to the Republic then re-established.

Then followed a series of "safe men," whose dullness was intended to insure the weakness of the Presidency. The cartoonists accused Grévy of buying three sous' worth of chestnuts as he went into the presidential palace, to avoid the expense of a dinner. Casimir-Périer resigned in disgust after six months' experience because there was nothing to do. Sadi Carnot, who seems to have been a man of vigor, was killed by an obscure assassin. Experience has shown that the French President is only a steadier, like those gyroscopes which are used to keep air-ships on a level. They have no veto power, and their executive acts must be performed through Ministers, whose countersign is a guarantee that the President shall have no real power.

The French Ministers. The real Government in France, as in England, is in the hands of a Ministry, which is a joint committee of the two legislative bodies, dependent at every moment upon holding a majority of the members of the *Chambre.* In England since 1871 there have been always two main parties, with some disturbance from third parties; whereas in France during that period there have never been any strong permanent parties. In 1912 the *Chambre* recognized nine political "groups," arranged as follows: Liberal Action, 33 members; Right, 84; Radical Left, 114; Progressive Republicans, 46; Radical Socialist Republicans, 154; Socialist Republicans, 32; Socialist party, 71; Republican Union, 33; besides about 25 members who could not feel at home in any one of those nine groups.

Majorities in a house so constituted are fleeting, as is shown by the fact that from 1871 to 1912 there were fifty-four Cabinets. Freycinet was in and out as Prime Minister four different times within five years. The Cabinet Rouvier in 1906 lasted nineteen days. Such a changeable and uncertain system would destroy most states, but it does not prevent the French from forming and executing policies which are pursued steadily for years. Cabinet-making is a kind of game in France; to be a Minister gives a man social prestige, a handsome official residence, an opportunity to pass good things around to his friends. In all the departments experienced and permanent under-secretaries or chiefs carry on the traditions. The changes of Ministry frequently mean only the squeezing out of two or three men and the coming in of new blood. In the crisis of the present war the French statesmen rearranged their Cabinet so as to bring into it the ablest men who could be found, no matter what was their party.

The Republican Task. The French Government is undeniably clumsy, but it is genuinely democratic. Thirty years ago the American student in Paris could still attend meetings of Legitimists or Bonapartists, but now they seem to have given up the struggle. Throughout the land the departmental and communal governments are in part carried on by the voters, in part by prefects and other national officials, who can usually be depended upon to use their official influence for the Ministry that is in power at the moment. The Republic has provided a system of national schools which reaches the whole population; which provides high schools for boys and girls all over the country; which supports more than twenty Government universities; and which is a model to other nations in the opportunity it offers for the training of experts. For instance, there are two schools in France for preparing special teachers for the normal schools.

Ever since the last detachment of Germans moved out of France in 1873 it has been the care of the Republic to provide national defense and also national offense. France is a land of stationary population, which stands now almost where it stood forty years ago in numbers. The Republic has therefore made it a business to watch the armament of Germany, and to be prepared for the expected war. Hence the land has cheerfully borne heavy taxes and loans for fortification of the frontier, for the building of the navy, for new cannon, for air-ships. A few months ago the Republic adopted a system of three years' military service, the purpose of which was to have always on foot a larger army in proportion to the population than that of the Germans. There was bitter opposition, especially from the Socialists; but when the outbreak of war came the French had already made a beginning in this in-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

crease of their army. Whatever the evils of war, every Continental Power in Europe has felt it a duty to be prepared, and the French Republic has shown its capacity to put up a strong defense and offense.

Critics of the French Republic have found plenty of material. Politics seem on a low plane. Members of the *Chambre* cannot secure appointments to post-offices and custom-houses for their friends, but they can get privileges to sell tobacco and like favors, and they job them in return for political support. The managers of the Panama Canal bought up journalists and even members of the *Chambre* right and left. In the Dreyfus controversy, from 1894 to 1899, every effort was made by statesmen and military men to avoid the admission that a mistake had been made, that the wrong man had been convicted. In the long conflict from about 1900 to 1910 over the Catholic associations the Republic was harsh, and the proceeds of the property that was seized do not seem yet to have arrived at the public treasury.

On the other hand, whether right or wrong in their controversy with the Papacy, the Republic stood to its policy and carried it through. By the determination of Frenchmen the Dreyfus case was reviewed and justice was done. French statesmen of the Republic pulled their country out of the position of being a lonely and defeated Power into an alliance with Russia, and then with England. The Republic has made no mistakes comparable with those of the *ancien régime*, or Napoleon the Great, or Napoleon the Little. For forty years France has furnished the strongest proof to Europe that the principles upon which the United States of America was founded and continues are principles under which a great modern state can be carried on, even in the midst of the tremendous strains of national life in the Europe of 1914.

TWO NOTEWORTHY BOOKS ON DEMOCRACY [1]

BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT

THERE are books of which it is impossible to make an epitome, and which therefore it is impossible to review save in the way of calling attention to their excellence. Bryce's "American Commonwealth," Lowell's "Study of Representative Government in Europe," Thayer's "Study of Cavour," illustrate what is meant by this statement. Two new volumes, "Progressive Democracy," by Herbert Croly, and "Drift and Mastery," by Walter Lippmann, come in this category. No man who wishes seriously to study our present social, industrial, and political life with the view of guiding his thought and action so as to work for National betterment in the future can afford not to read these books through and through and to ponder and digest them. They worthily carry forward the argument contained in the authors' previous works—"The Promise of American Life," by Mr. Croly, and "A Preface to Politics," by Mr. Lippmann.

Both of these writers stand foremost among those of our thinkers who recognize the grave abuses of our present system and the need of breaking the shackles which the interested beneficiaries and the disinterested but fanatical devotees of the past would impose upon us. Both thoroughly realize the absolute need that we shall move forward toward a definite goal unless we are willing to see misfortune come to our people. But each is as far as possible from those unwise reformers who denounce everything that smacks of the past as vicious, and who consider all change of any kind as in itself beneficial. Both of them—and Mr. Lippmann especially so—are believers in a great increase in the application of the principle of collective action. But neither of them makes a fetish of ultra-collectivism any more than of ultra-individualism, and each is entirely fearless in opposing mischievous action, even

[1] Progressive Democracy. By Herbert Croly. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.
Drift and Mastery. By Walter Lippmann. Mitchell Kennerley, New York. $1.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

although it is now or has been recently supported by the great majority of our people.

Mr. Croly explicitly points out that the position which American conservatism has elected to defend arouses on the part of its defenders a sincere and admirable loyalty of conviction. He recognizes that our traditional constitutional system has had a long and honorable career, and has contributed enormously to American political and social prosperity, giving stability, order, and security to a new political experiment undertaken in a new country under peculiarly hazardous and trying conditions. He also gives the wise warning that in order to attack the old system progressivism must not occupy a position of mere nihilism, of mere destruction; that it must not represent wild-eyed and unbalanced seeking after an impossible millennium; and, furthermore, that it must be constructive rather than restorative. In his book he poses the two questions: (1) Whether any substitute is needed for the traditional system, and (2) Whether the progressive creed offers what can fairly be considered such a working substitute. He answers both questions in the affirmative; but the value of his book, although it consists partly in the working out of the definite conclusions he reaches, consists even more in the spirit in which he has attempted to reach these conclusions.

Mr. Croly strikes at the root of the difficulties encountered by men who seriously strive for a juster economic and social life when he points out that the chief obstacles to securing the needed betterment are found in the legalism with which we have permitted our whole Government to be affected, and in the extreme difficulty of amending the Constitution. As for the latter point, objection to an easier method of amending the Constitution can be reasonably advanced only by those who sincerely and frankly disbelieve in the fitness of the people for self-government. Government under a Constitution which in actual practice can be amended only on the terms which formerly permitted the Polish Parliament to legislate, and under a system of court procedure which makes the courts the ultimate irresponsible interpreters of the Constitution, and therefore ultimately the irresponsible makers of the law under the Constitution—such government really represents a system as emphatically undemocratic as government by a hereditary aristocracy. As Mr. Croly says, what is needed is not to increase the power of Congress at the expense of the judiciary, or to conserve the power of the judiciary at the expense of Congress or of the Executive, but to increase popular control over all the organs of government; and this can be accomplished only by the increase of direct popular power over the Constitution.

No less admirable is Mr. Croly's showing of the damage done to justice and to the whole democratic ideal by the saturation of our Government with legalism. As he points out, the final outcome of this effort was to make the paralyzing of administration by law an every-day spectacle. Under such conditions the ship of state merely drifted round and round. In practice the public welfare was sedulously sacrificed to this theory of government by litigation. The law continually prevented the correction of abuses and continually shielded officials who had gone wrong, but it never helped to make things go right. Corruption increased and special privilege was fostered. In practice the equal protection of the laws meant very unequal opportunity to bring lawsuits, and government by law was turned into government by corporations and political bosses. This continued until observers of vision finally became convinced that democracy and legalism were incompatible.

The great corporation, the great corporation lawyer, and the boss are now merged together as representing rule over the people, and the demagogue, whose revolt occasionally tempers this far from beneficent despotism, often aggravates as many ills as he remedies. Mr. Croly points out how direct government by the people themselves, entered into with wisdom and caution, offers, on the whole, not only the best but the only real remedy for these abuses. He shows that to call pure democracy "retrogressive" or a "return to old forms" is a mere play upon words, of no more account than it would be to stigmatize in similar fashion the attempt to recover classic humanism after its eclipse in the Middle Ages. The adoption of direct government may in the end accomplish most of its purposes by reinvigorating representative government; and not the least interesting part of Mr. Croly's book is a study of the method proposed in Oregon for achieving this result. Mr. Croly emphatically believes in nationalizing our democracy, but this does not in the least mean mere centralization of power. On the contrary, he no more makes a fetish of centralization than of par-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ticularism. It is eminently desirable that we should keep in State and in city vigorous forms of local self-government. What is meant by the nationalization of the democratic method is the giving to the whole people themselves the power to do those things that are essential in the interest of the whole people.

The dominant note of Mr. Lippmann's book is the insistence that in the present unrest there is altogether too much aimless drift, aimless beating of the waves to and fro, and that what is needed is a mastery of the movement; which can come in a democracy only if the people, or at least the leaders of the people, have the courage to face the facts and the wisdom and vision to think rationally about them. Mr. Lippmann, with caustic humor, shows the folly alike of the persons who believe in the non-existent virtues of a non-existent golden past and of the persons who merely dream of a golden future without making any sane effort to better conditions in the present. Too many of the dreamers of the last type refuse to confront the uncomfortable fact that in life retrogression is almost, and at times quite, as common as progress, and that there is no necessary truth whatever in the proposition that whatever is later in time is better in fact. He shows that no liberty worth having can come from a mere happy-go-lucky breaking of chains. "It is with emancipation that real tasks begin, and liberty is a searching challenge, for it takes away the guardianship of the master and the comfort of the priest."

Two of the most fundamental and admirable chapters in Mr. Lippman's book are those entitled "A Key to the Labor Movement" and "A Nation of Villagers." In the former he makes the point, which cannot be too much insisted upon, that strong labor organizations are indispensable to progress. They not only benefit the persons who are thus organized, but they benefit society as a whole. It is the economic weakness and wretchedness of those who constitute the Industrial Workers of the World which make the Industrial Workers of the World so potent a source of aimless, of merely destructive, unrest. It is the strength and economic power of the great brotherhoods of railway employees and of similar effective labor organizations which have given, not merely dignity and strength to the labor movement, but also additional solidity to our social structure.

Nowhere is Mr. Lippmann's clear sight and courage better shown than in his treatment of the trusts. During the past quarter of a century probably more mischief has been done, and is now being done, by our treatment of the trusts than by any other one phase of our governmental activity. He points out that the Sherman Anti-Trust Law has, on the whole, worked very great evil. Indeed, almost the only good that has been accomplished under it has been accomplished by the Northern Securities suit, and this merely by establishing the power of the National Government to deal with corporations engaged in inter-State business, a power secured by getting the Supreme Court to reverse a previous most unwise and improper decision. The Sherman Anti-Trust Law should only remain as applicable to corporations which refuse to obey the decrees of an adequate, powerful administrative body in the nature of an inter-State business commission. Mr. Lippmann is, with justice, equally severe upon those who have organized the "trusts" that do evil and upon the professional anti-trust leaders who have endeavored merely to break up big business corporations and to secure the "new freedom" by bringing us back to an era of unlimited and ruthless competition between small business concerns. He says, quite justly, that "the stupid hostility of anti-trust laws" has perverted all real constructive policy on the part of the Nation and the States, has concentrated the thinking of our people on inessentials, has driven creative business men to underhand methods, and has put a high money value on intrigue and legal cunning, demagoguery, and waste. "The trusts have survived it all, but in mutilated form, the battered makeshifts of a trampled promise. They have learned every art of evasion—the only art reformers allowed them to learn." Of course our policy as regards the trusts should be frankly to accept in its essentials the doctrine laid down by President Van Hise in his book entitled "Combination and Control."

Mr. Lippmann sees clearly, as does Mr. Croly, that democracy cannot possibly be achieved save among a people fit for democracy. There can be no real political democracy unless there is something approaching an economic democracy. A democracy must consist of men who are intellectually, morally, and materially fit to be their own masters. There can be neither political nor industrial democracy unless people are reasonably well-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to-do, and also reasonably able to achieve the difficult task of self-mastery. As Mr. Lippmann says, the first item in any rational programme for a democratic state must be the insistence on a reasonably high minimum standard of life, and therefore of pay, for the average worker.

It is not possible even for reformers of lofty vision and fine and sane judgment to treat of everything. Neither of these two books dwells sufficiently upon, although both of them hint at, certain vital facts which are connected with a further fundamental fact, that there must be ample prosperity in the nation. Public welfare depends upon general public prosperity, and the reformer whose reforms interfere with the general prosperity will accomplish little.

We cannot pay for what the highest type of democracy demands unless there is a great abundance of prosperity. A business that does not make money necessarily pays bad wages and renders poor service. Merely to change the ownership of the business without making it yield increased profits will achieve nothing. In practice this means that when the Nation suffers from hard times wage-workers will concern themselves, and must concern themselves, primarily with a return to good times, and not with any plan for securing social and industrial justice. If women cannot get any work, and nevertheless have to live, they will be far more concerned with seeing a factory opened in which they can work at night or work twelve hours every day than they are concerned with the abolition of night work or the limitation of hours of labor. Exactly the same is true of men. In the recent election in Pennsylvania the majority of the miners and wage-workers generally voted for the Republican machine, although this Republican machine had just defeated a workmen's compensation act, a child labor law, a minimum wage for women law, and various other bits of very desirable labor legislation. The attitude of the wage-workers was perfectly simple. They wished employment. They wished a chance to get a job. They believed that they had more chance if the candidates of the Republican machine were elected than they would otherwise have. Personally I very strongly believe that they were in error; but it was their belief that counted. The average voter usually sees what he is voting about in very simple form. He does not regard the political picture as an etching and follow out the delicate tracery. He treats it as a circus poster, in which the colors are in very vivid contrast and are laid on with a broad brush. When the average man feels the pinch of poverty, the only things he sees in the political picture are the broad, vivid colors which in his mind deal with that particular matter. He wishes to have his material condition improved at the present time or in the immediate future; and for the moment questions of ultimate betterment, and especially of moral betterment, sink into abeyance. This attitude is in no way peculiar to the laboring man or the farmer. It is just as evident in the big business man and in his college-bred son, and in the wealthy clubs of which these two make up most of the membership.

Finally, it is imperative to count the cost of all reforms, and therefore to remember that only a wealthy state can spend money sufficient to embody the reform into law. There is no point in having prosperity unless there can be an equitable division of prosperity. But there can be no equitable division of prosperity until the prosperity is there to divide. All reformers with any wisdom will keep this fact steadily in mind, and will realize that it is their duty in all legislation to work for the general prosperity of the community; and this in spite of the further fact that no good comes from the performance of this first duty unless some system of equity and justice is built upon the prosperity thus secured.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BLOWING OUT THE BOY'S BRAINS

BY FRANKLIN K. MATHIEWS

CHIEF SCOUT LIBRARIAN, BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

"WHAT 1,500 School Children Did between Friday and the Following Monday" and "The Hobbies of 933 Boys" were the captions of two charts that attracted universal attention at the Rochester, New York, Child Welfare Exhibit recently held. In both cases reading claimed the largest percentage of time. That is most gratifying; but it must be understood that practically in all surveys of children's reading made by librarians and teachers almost without exception the unwelcome fact is disclosed that the books of the "underground library" are as influential as those circulated by public means.

Happily, though, the volumes of the dime or the nickel novel are fast disappearing from this private circulating exchange. Through the good influences of the public libraries and schools and the successful competition of the "movies" the "yellow-back" is being hard hit. But, alas! the modern "penny dreadful" has not been banished quite so completely as at first appears. Its latest appearance is in the disguise of the bound book, and sometimes so attractively bound that it takes its place on the retail book-store shelf alongside the best juvenile publications.

In making a survey of children's reading in a certain Southern city recently, in the very best book-store I found the famous Frank Merriwell nickel novel series bound in cloth and selling for fifty cents. And I happen to know that the author of this series, under another name, is writing other books for the same publishing house. The fact of the business is that the passing of the half-dime novel has meant lean times for the authors of this type of reading. I have it upon very good authority that the circulation of the leading nickel novel has been reduced from 200,000 to 50,000 a week. Consequently these writers must find a new market for their output; and this is supplied for the most part by some of those publishers whose books are written by authors whose motives and methods are similar to those of the original producers of slot-machine juveniles.

The public will, I am sure, be interested in knowing just how most of the books that sell from twenty-five to fifty cents are, not written, but manufactured. There is usually one man who is as resourceful as a Balzac so far as ideas and plots for stories are concerned. He cannot, though, develop them all, so he employs a number of men who write for him. I know of one man who has a contract to furnish his publisher each year with twenty-five books manufactured in this way. Another author manufactured last year more than fifty. By such methods from year to year the popular-priced series are kept going, the manager of the writing syndicate being able to furnish the publisher upon demand any kind of a story that may be needed.

In almost all of this "mile-a-minute fiction" some inflammable tale of improbable adventure is told. Boys move about in aeroplanes as easily as though on bicycles; criminals are captured by them with a facility that matches the ability of Sherlock Holmes; and when it comes to getting on in the world, the cleverness of these hustling boys is comparable only to those captains of industry and Napoleons of finance who have made millions in a minute. Insuperable difficulties and crushing circumstances are as easily overcome and conquered as in fairy tales. Indeed, no popular character of history or legend or mythological story was ever more wise, more brave, more resourceful, than some of these up-to-the-minute boy heroes are made to appear in the Sunday supplement juvenile stories.

I have just been reading a book of this type in which the captain of a new submarine craft is represented to be a boy of sixteen; "though so young, he had," so the author says, "after a stern apprenticeship, actually succeeded in making himself a world-known expert in the handling of submarine torpedo-boats." Continuing, we are told that with this brilliant young genius there are two other sixteen-year old boys, and it is (here I quote from the book) "rumored, and nearly as often believed, that these three sea-bred young Americans know as much as any one in the United States on the special subject of submarine boat building." In a previous volume of the series, "these three young friends secured the prize medal at Annapolis, where for a brief

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

time they served as instructors in submarine work to the young midshipmen at the Naval Academy."

"Never mind how big a rascal he may be,
Every fellow is another entity!
There's a good man and a bad,
Both a sane man and a mad,
In 'most every human being that we see."

I will leave my readers to decide whether it was "a good man" or "a bad," "a sane man" or "a mad," who wrote the book from which I have taken these extracts.

Because these cheap books do not develop criminals or lead boys, except very occasionally, to seek the Wild West, parents who buy such books think they do their boys no harm. The fact is, however, that the harm done is simply incalculable. I wish I could label each one of these books: "Explosives! Guaranteed to Blow Your Boy's Brains Out."

One of the most valuable assets a boy has is his imagination. In proportion as this is nurtured a boy develops initiative and resourcefulness. The greatest possible service that education can render is to train the boy to grasp and master new situations as they constantly present themselves to him; and what helps more to make such adjustment than a lively imagination? Story books of the right sort stimulate and conserve this noble faculty, while those of the viler and cheaper sort, by overstimulation, debauch and vitiate, as brain and body are debauched and destroyed by strong drink.

If you take gasoline and feed it to an automobile a drop at a time, you get splendid results, because you have confined and directed it with intelligent care and caution. Take the same quantity of gasoline and just pour it out and you either don't get anywhere or you get somewhere you don't care to go. Here is an apt illustration of the proper use of the elements that must enter in to make good books for boys. For, let it be understood, the good book for the average boy must be one that, as the "Century Magazine" says, is "wholesomely perilous." And what is meant is this: the red-blooded boy, the boy in his early teens, must have his thrill; he craves excitement, has a passion for action, "something must be doing" all the time; and in nothing is this more true than in his reading.

The difference between a "Treasure Island" and a modern "thriller" in its many editions is not a difference in the elements so much as the use each author makes of them. A Stevenson works with combustibles, but, as in the case of using the gasoline, he confines them, directs them with care and caution, always thinking of how he may use them in a way that will be of advantage to the boy. In the case of the modern "thriller" the author works with the same materials, but with no moral purpose, with no real intelligence. No effort is made to confine or direct or control these highly explosive elements. The result is that, as some boys read such books, their imaginations are literally "blown out," and they go into life as terribly crippled as though by some material explosion they had lost a hand or foot. For not only will the boy be greatly handicapped in business, but the whole world of art in its every form almost is closed to him. Why are there so few men readers of the really good books, or even of the passing novels, sometimes of real worth? Largely, I think, because the imagination of so many men as boys received such brutal treatment at the hands of those authors and publishers who give no concern as to what they write or publish so long as it returns constantly the expected financial gain.

The natural thing would be for me to tell you the titles of these books. Space will not permit. It would take pages to give the titles even of those that have been published in the last three months, which, with scores of others, will make up the annual supply for the holiday season, when these books are sold by the million. And the very fact that so many are used for Christmas gifts makes all our children liable to this pernicious influence. Indeed, at that time tens of thousands of them will be distributed through Sunday-schools at the annual children's Christmas festival, and it is very possible that you will yourself purchase them for your own children, since they are on sale everywhere, even many of the denominational publishing houses listing them in their catalogues.

How shall we find a way out? It cannot be said too emphatically that, if supervision be given, it is comparatively easy to win children from any form of these sensational books. Boys read these books because they have in them just those elements that appeal so much to boys. But that is not to say that boys will not read better and the best books.

I discovered a striking instance of this as told by a bookseller in South Carolina. I found in his store a table of nickel novels.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

He said that the sale of these had in the last few months fallen off ninety-five per cent, and he also told me, with considerable pleasure, the cause. The sale of the modern "penny dreadful" had been made among the mill boys of his town, but recently the mill-owner had engaged a Young Men's Christian Association secretary to work among his boy employees. This welfare worker, recognizing the worth of boys' reading, has promoted a system of traveling libraries through the several mills, with the result that the nickel novel has become a thing of the past. And it is always so. A multitude of as successful experiences might be cited.

What about the bookseller, then? I would answer with confidence that the average bookseller is not disposed to promote the sale of pernicious or wicked books. In a number of instances booksellers have told me that they would remove from their stock any book I thought objectionable. Not long ago the manager of the book section of a department store in a New England town read an article condemning cheap and poor children's books. He realized that it was exactly the kind of books that he was selling mostly. Through a friend he sent some of these books to the local children's librarian, whose report, of course, confirmed his fear that they were not wholesome. Since then he has not pushed so hard the sales of such books, and has paid more attention to the better books for children.

So we must look further, but not far—only to the other side of the counter. The chief reason why so many of these trashy books are circulated through the retail trade is because they are so cheap. The "weakness" is not with the boy's taste, but with the parent's pocketbook; the fault lies not so much behind the counter as in front of it. But help is near to meet this weakness and correct this fault. Many of the reputable publishers are placing in competition with the trashy books reprint editions of some of their very best juveniles, all of them written by those modern authors whose books are so popular with all boys. These retail for fifty cents. Printed from the original plates, they are in every way practically equal to the editions which sold on first publication at prices ranging from one dollar to one dollar and fifty cents. So widely have these reprint books been distributed through the retail trade that they may be found wherever books are sold.

Just as I am closing this article there comes to my desk a letter from a scoutmaster in Lansing, Michigan. To the letter a postal card is attached signed by the sheriff stating that "information is wanted relative to the whereabouts of Guy Arthur Phinisey, who left his home in Lansing, Michigan, on September 2, 1914," etc. In the letter of the scoutmaster I find these significant words: "From the information I have received there seems to be no reason for his leaving home of his own accord. He has a good home, and his parents seem quiet but thrifty. The only possible clue I can find is 'cheap reading.'"

Of course not every boy who indulges himself in "cheap reading" will be so affected, but who of us is wise enough to know which one it is that will be so influenced?

JUNIOR CITIZENS IN ACTION

BY LYMAN BEECHER STOWE

THE Junior Municipality idea devised by William R. George and described in The Outlook about a year ago has now accomplished definite results. The idea, in brief, consists in having a Junior government, elected by the boys and girls between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one, in duplication of the regular or senior government—that is, every adult official in the government has a boy or girl understudy. These Junior understudies have as many duties and as much authority as their principals choose to confer upon them. The plan has now been in operation for a year in the two small cities of Ithaca and Cortland, New York. In Ithaca Mr. George himself has supervised it, while in Cortland it has had no regular supervision. In Ithaca not long ago the Junior Chief of Police asked the senior Chief what he could do to help him. More in jest than earnest, the Chief replied that he could capture a forger that the department

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had been after for six months. This was at three o'clock in the afternoon. By ten o'clock that night the boy police had located the forger, and the next day he was captured. One of the Junior officers was a special delivery mail carrier in the post-office. This boy made up a dummy special delivery letter addressed to the forger. This letter he took to the house in which the boys suspected the man was hiding. A woman living on the ground floor stated that a man and a woman were living upstairs. The woman upstairs denied that any man lived with her, but confirmed the boys' suspicions by trying to get them to leave the letter with her. They immediately reported the circumstances to the Chief of Police; he sent officers to search the house, and the man was found. A little later a Junior police officer caught a prowler in the early morning stealing milk bottles which had just been left by the milkman. This strapping youth, instead of calling for a policeman, took the culprit personally to the police station. At another time the Junior Mayor came across an insane woman who was about to throw herself off a cliff. He called a policeman, and with him took the woman to the police station, and thence to the City Hospital, and finally to a State asylum. At times, when there have been large crowds to handle, the Chief of Police has on his own initiative sworn in boy officials to help in preserving order.

Some boys from well-to-do families in Ithaca stayed away from school at frequent intervals and submitted excuses which, on investigation, were found to have been forged by other boys. Finally the father of one of the boys went to the Superintendent of Schools and asked that his boy and the other offenders be turned over to the Junior Court for correction. As the Superintendent was at his wits' end, he most gladly agreed to try the experiment. Accordingly, the boys were indicted by a Grand Jury of boys and tried before the boy Judge. They waived their right of trial by jury. As it was in each case the first offense, the boy Judge merely required them to report every other day for two weeks to the Junior probation officer, with the understanding that their probation period would be indefinitely extended if their conduct reports were not satisfactory. The whole group, both those who had forged the excuses and those who had used them, reported regularly and satisfactorily for the required two weeks, and were then discharged by the Court, with a warning as to the greater severity of the treatment which would be meted out to them if they offended again. There has been no further trouble with these boys.

A number of boys between the ages of eight and fifteen were arraigned before City Judge Crowey as chronic truants. He promptly turned them over to his understudy, the Junior City Judge, to handle as he saw fit. The young Judge made some reliable boy who attended the same school responsible for the attendance of each truant. These boy guardians were of sufficient size and strength to carry their point by physical persuasion in case of necessity, but they were never obliged to resort to force. The Junior truant officers came one day upon a truant camp where the chronic evaders of the privileges of public education met in fraternal gatherings. The young officers caught two of the delinquents after a chase of almost a mile, and marched them to their home. Here their mother tearfully explained that they could not go to school because they had no shoes and stockings. That put a very different face on the matter, and the boy officers did not press the case until the truants had been furnished with shoes and stockings, gladly furnished by more fortunate youths. After that official compulsion was superfluous. More and more of the truant work is now being turned over to the Junior Court.

City Clerk Kerr has given some of the older Junior officers, some of whom are students in the high school and others in Cornell, actual problems to work out connected with the levying and collecting of the city's taxes. Several Junior citizens have been called upon by city officials to inspect and report to them on public works which they lacked the time to look into personally. At a dinner given last spring by the Junior officers to the senior officers many such plans for co-operation were informally discussed. Mayor Tree has at all times welcomed the co-operation of his understudy, the Junior Mayor, and the whole Junior government.

At the conference of the mayors of the State held last spring at Auburn, New York, Mayor Angell, of Cortland, allowed the Junior Mayor to take his place on the programme at one of the conferences and describe the workings of the Cortland Junior Municipality. At the same conference the Junior Mayor read a paper prepared by Mayor

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Angell. After the meeting many of the mayors congratulated the young man, and requested fuller information, so that they might lay the matter before their respective Councils. On his return home the young Mayor repeated his address before the adult City Council at their request.

A little later a Child Welfare Exhibit was given in Cortland, about which a local paper made the following matter-of-fact statement: "In the absence of Mayor W. H. Angell, Henry Van Brocklin, Cortland's Junior Municipality Mayor, presided. The speakers were Dr. Thomas, of the State Department of Health, and Rev. W. W. Way, rector of Grace Episcopal Church." The boy made the opening remarks and greeted the delegates, who came from various parts of the State.

The officers of the Cortland Junior Municipality, on their own initiative, worked up a cleaner-city campaign, which consummated last spring in a successful City Clean-Up Day, which the Junior citizens conducted under the guidance and with the official backing of the regular city officials.

The Junior Common Council meets twice a month in the regular Common Council rooms and discusses the affairs of the city in the same manner as do their seniors; also a considerable number of the Junior Councilmen attend as guests the meetings of the regular Common Council.

In short, that the Junior Municipality works, and works to the common advantage of the adult government, the boys and girls, and the whole community, has now been demonstrated in practice. The difficulties in applying the idea to larger and more complex communities would obviously be much greater. Mr. George believes the plan might be worked out by district units for great cities. The writer believes, and Mr. George agrees, that adult supervision will be an essential to the permanent success of the idea. Each Junior Municipality, or, in the case of those of small adjacent towns, each group of Junior Municipalities, should be under the general oversight of a paid supervisor. The pay of the supervisor ought to be many times offset by the saving to the city effected by turning so many of its boys from law-breaking to law-enforcement.

THE NEW BOOKS

Political Shame of Mexico (The). By Edward I. Bell. McBride, Nast & Co., New York. $2.

This is an interesting account of the history of Mexico for the past four years—from the last days of Diaz to the Mediation Conference at Niagara Falls. The author, as the publisher and editor of two newspapers in Mexico, had the privilege of frequently going behind the scenes, and thus, while his whole narrative is readable, parts of it are of permanent value because of the clear light thrown upon some events of international importance heretofore commonly shrouded in semi-darkness. Particularly informing is the recital of how the decisive battle of the Madero revolution was fought in the Plaza Hotel, New York City, between Francisco Madero, Senior, and his son Gustavo Madero, on one side, and José Yves Limantour—the genius of the Diaz financial programme—on the other, and the recital of the part, conscious or unconscious, that President Taft played in the overthrow of President Madero.

With many American observers, Mr. Bell believes that the United States will sooner or later be compelled to take control of Mexico, and with a somewhat smaller number of them he believes that it will be feasible for us later to relinquish this control. His diagnosis of the crying need of the Mexicans is for "a good board of directors to manage the corporation of which they are the stockholders, and a reformed policeman strictly under the orders of the board."

Mexican People (The): Their Struggle for Freedom. By Gutierrez de Lara and Edgcumb Pinchon. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. $1.50.

The authors of this book tell us that it is "the voice of the Mexican people," and certainly it more nearly gives an accurate interpretation of the view-point, hopes, and aspirations of the masses of Mexico, the peons fighting and toiling for freedom under the conflicting leadership of Villa, Zapata, Carranza, and other chiefs, than anything that has come to our notice for many a day. At the same time "the voice," as it is heard in this volume, is more clear-cut and more highly polished than it is in fact, and the message that we here get from Mexico is more direct, more forceful, and more appealing through the fact that the bearers of it—the authors of this volume—are avowed Socialists of the "intellectual" class, who can interpret the desires of the Mexican people more speciously than the people themselves. However, if there is any bias in the book, the authors make no loud pretensions of impartiality, and a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

book partial to the cause of the Mexican proletariat would in any event be rather refreshing after the deluge of literary sycophancy that has come to the United States from paid press agents of the Diaz and Huerta régimes or from misled outsiders whose observations of Mexico have been made from the parlor cars of these dictators.

Messrs. de Lara and Pinchon begin at the beginning, with the Spanish conquest, and their narration of the struggle of the common people against the oppression of the master class at home and the tyranny of sovereign princes abroad is instructive and absorbing. The chapters dealing with the war of Texan independence, the war of 1846 between Mexico and the United States, and the downfall of the Mexican Empire of Maximilian are particularly interesting because of the light they throw upon the history of our own country at these periods. The authors of this volume declare, and cite evidence to prove, that the Texan colonists were heartily opposed to secession from Mexico, and that the war between Texas and Mexico was as much due to the desire of the clerical party in Mexico to divert the people's attention from the propaganda of revolution as from the wish of the Southern planters of the United States to add slave territory to the Union. Essentially the same causes are ascribed to the war of 1846. Upon the opinion, commonly accepted in the United States, that during the intervention of England, Spain, and France in Mexico in 1861 the United States was the firm friend of Mexico, the authors of this book freely throw cold water, and they are equally emphatic in asserting the falsity of the belief that the departure of the French in 1865 was due in any considerable degree to the influence of the United States.

The book is profusely illustrated with photographs of modern Mexico and Mexicans. It is a painstaking effort to present the view-point of the intellectual Mexican revolutionary, and it is incidentally a compilation of historical data of no little interest.

Man of Genius (The). By Hermann Türck, Ph.D. The Macmillan Company, New York. $4.

This is the first English edition of a work that has reached its seventh edition in Germany, where it has been highly praised as a work of critical and literary genius quite adequate to its subject. The titles of its introductory chapters indicate the wide range of the author's thought—"Artistic Enjoyment and Productivity," "Philosophical Aspiration," "Conduct in Practical Life." He goes on to show the man of genius as delineated in Shakespeare's "Hamlet," in Goethe's "Faust," and in Byron's "Manfred." These chapters are fine specimens of æsthetic criticism. The genius is termed a "superman," showing humanity at its highest power. A "temporal superhumanity" is seen in great conquerors—Alexander, Cæsar, Napoleon. The essential attributes of the man of genius are named—disinterestedness, objectivity, and complete devotion of the heart to a noble idea. These appear conspicuously in Jesus and in Buddha. A notable chapter exhibits the essential elements in their teachings and their mutual agreement. A thorough idealist, Dr. Türck insists on a healthy realism as leading to true idealism. For this he wages a vigorous polemic against Stirner, Nietzsche, and Ibsen as egoists and "antisophers." A striking feature of these essays are the frequent parallels he draws between his idealism and Christ's. A keen and subtle and mentally stimulating thinker is he, at times paradoxical. Hamlet is pronounced "morally great," though showing an "unscrupulousness without which great actions are impossible." Is not this the very taint that is grossly apparent in the present apologists for Germany's treatment of Belgium?

Memories of the Kaiser's Court. By Anne Topham. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $3.

The resident English teacher of the only daughter of the German Kaiser, Princess Victoria Luise, now the Duchess of Brunswick, writes of her experiences in the Prussian Court from 1902 until the marriage of the Princess in 1913. She gives a view of the royal family life intimate yet discreet, candid yet entirely free from sensationalism—a view which, in the face of present events, must go far to balance in the public mind some natural misapprehensions of German character. The well-written, simply told narrative of every-day royal life is especially timely and should be widely read. The dominant, joking, energetic, and adored "Papa," the ever-thoughtful, kind-hearted, submissive, yet efficient "Mamma," with the two younger children at home, always *zanking* (bickering), yet warm-hearted and childlike, make a most attractive domestic picture. It may be noted that Miss Topham was the only woman about the court, not excepting the Empress, who knew the least bit about cooking, in spite of the three Ks—*Kinder, Kirche, und Küche*—upon which the Emperor insists, and to which he has recently added a fourth—*Kultur!*

Men Around the Kaiser. By Frederick William Wile. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis. $1.25.

Some of the makers of modern Germany, including the most eminent of them, are here sketched by an American who has served for several years as the Berlin correspondent of the London "Daily Mail." An earlier edition has already been noticed in The Outlook. This edition, just published, contains an Introduction by the author written since the war, and interpreting the spirit of modern Germany which these men have helped to form. The book is informative. The author leaves no doubt in the mind of the reader that he is not in sympa-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

thy with the militaristic aims to which Germany has committed itself.

Sunny Side of Diplomatic Life, 1875–1912 (The). By L. de Hegermann-Lindencrone. Harper & Brothers, New York. $2.

The author of "In the Courts of Memory" adds to her reminiscences a large illustrated volume of letters, extending in time from 1875 to 1912, and including in places Washington, Rome, Stockholm, Paris, and Berlin. One turns instinctively to the last Court, at which she was the wife of the Ambassador from Denmark, and finds much interest in the portraiture of the Kaiser and his circle. The letters are lively, though somewhat over-egotistic. It is perhaps too much to expect of a pretty, accomplished, prominent woman that she should vacate the center of the stage at times, but these vivacious accounts of uninterrupted social triumphs, quite suitable for family letters, might have been toned down for publication. The impression left on one's mind is of gracious and admired royalties, equality with famous artists, and an amused condescension toward the rest of the world.

Social Heredity and Social Evolution: The Other Side of Eugenics. By Herbert William Conn. The Abingdon Press, New York. $1.50.

In this latest of Professor Conn's valuable publications he calls attention to facts that eugenists and their readers need to make more account of. These facts weigh more heavily in determining human progress than the laws of inheritance on which eugenics is based. What eugenics can effect for the cultivation of a better physical type of humanity is highly desirable. But the organic heredity on which it is intent simply gives us certain powers. The use of these is determined by the forces of social heredity.

The aim of human evolution is to produce a better society rather than a better animal. "Society is a superstructure built by social inheritance on a foundation laid by organic inheritance." Whether any individual fits well into society depends more on the social forces that nurture him than on the powers that nature gave. Adult man possesses far more than he inherits by nature, and is largely the result of the action of his environment upon his plastic organism. Thus civilization grows. It is an accumulation of conditions and experiences transmitted from generation to generation. Its history from the first has been "an attempt to escape from the continual condition of free fight." It has been a seesaw between egoistic and altruistic instinct, an attempt to supersede struggle by mutual service. Human evolution advances only in this line of ethical development, especially when religion imparts vitality to ethics.

Matthew Arnold defined civilization as the humanization of man. Professor Conn so treats it in a biological view. As distinct from animal nature, human nature is ethical. Its ethical development produces real civilization, and civilization is real only in so far as it is ethical. The foregoing summary presents the main points of this lucid and masterly sketch of its evolution.

Short History of Italian Painting (A). By Alice Van Vechten Brown and William Rankin. E. P. Dutton & Company, New York. $2.25.

While this book is designed primarily for students, it is of special and practical value for amateurs and collectors. Its bibliographical list, its descriptions of artists and paintings and pictures, its references and foot-notes, and its carefully selected and well-printed illustrations greatly reinforce the text. Moreover, the text is distinguished by its literary merit from that of many art books of a popular kind. Its judgments are well considered and scholarly. Miss Brown is the head of the Art Department of Wellesley College, and Mr. Rankin speaks with authority as a critic of Italian art. While the volume is encyclopædic and technical in design, it is not at all a dry-as-dust production, but possesses an inspirational quality for those who really want to understand Italian art. Take Botticelli, for example. His famous and beautiful "Primavera," with its symbolic composition and curiously drawn and draped figures, is a stumbling-block to the conventional. But no one can read the following bit of critical interpretation without turning to the picture with a new interest:

> The "Primavera" is a pure pictorial idyl. Before such a song of the spring, the more epic art of Giotto or Masaccio seems prose. Against a background of tree-stems, Venus and the Graces, with symbolic figures—the months, the lingering breath of winter, and the zephyrs of spring—are disposed in ethereal motion. It is an exquisite design of lines and spaces, formed by branches, sky, flowers, diaphanous garments, and tender, unearthly color. The idealized images are abstract, as in Greek and Byzantine art, but admit a naturalistic basis. The leaves and flowers are unconventional, the wind in the March and April passages is whistling through real pines. But the design controls the naturalism. This is the chief lesson of the picture. The thought is dominant over the objective material.

Boy Emigrants (The). By Noah Brooks. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2.

A new edition, very well illustrated, of "The Boy Emigrants" will doubtless attract almost as many readers as it did when it first appeared in the Centennial year. Stories of adventure on our Western frontier should be read by our boys.

Sicily Ann. By Fanny Heaslip Lea. Harper & Brothers, New York. $1.

Sicily Ann was a terribly foolish, simple-minded girl, but because she was pretty and appealing and inconsequent we are asked to believe that everybody fell in love with her. Everybody did—in the story—and the story is a bright little sketch which brings in the social side of American army life in Honolulu.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED